

**THE**  
**ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY**  
**OF**  
**BOMBAY**



**JUBILEE VOLUME**

**( 1937 )**





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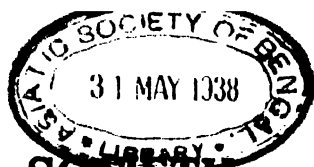
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*The Editor has great pleasure to lay  
before the public the Jubilee Volume of  
the Anthropological Society of Bombay.*

*Bombay, 1st January 1938.*



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# THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF BOMBAY.

## Golden Jubilee Meeting.

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The Golden Jubilee meeting of the Anthropological Society of Bombay was held in the rooms of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society, Town Hall, Bombay, on Tuesday, the 12th January, 1937, when His Excellency Lord Brabourne, Governor of Bombay, was in the chair. Lady Brabourne was also present. A representative gathering of the citizens of Bombay, who were invited, was present. The following members of the Society attended the meeting :—

R. P. Masani, Esq., M.A.,  
Principal Revd. Dr. J. McKenzie, M.A., D.D.,  
G. V. Acharya, Esq., B.A.,  
H. T. Sorley, Esq., I.C.S.,  
K. A. Padhye, Esq., B.A., LL.B.,  
V. P. Vaidya, Esq., Barrister-at-Law,  
Dr. Jal F. Bulsara, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D.,  
Revd. Fr. H. Heras, S.J.,  
Prof. Dr. G. S. Ghurye, M.A., Ph.D.,  
Dr. N. A. Thoothi, B.A., D.Phil.,  
Sir Hormusjee Cowasji Dinshaw, Kt., M.V.O., O.B.E.,  
Hon'ble Mr. Justice Bamanji J. Wadia, M.A., LL.B.,  
Mrs. Shirinbai B. P. Byramji,  
Vicaji A. Taraporewala, Esq.,  
Rustam Jivanji J. Modi, Esq., Barrister-at-Law,  
Jehangir B. Petit, Esq.,  
Cowasji Dorabji Panday, Esq.,

Ramrao P. B. Joshi, Esq., B.A., LL.B.,  
 Ramchandra R. Sabnis, Esq., B.A., LL.B. (Adv.),  
 Dossabhoy H. Contractor, Esq.,  
 Hoshang T. Anklesaria, Esq.

Their Excellencies were received by the President and Members of the Council of the Society.

*Address of Welcome by Mr. R. P. Masani, President of the Society:—*

YOUR EXCELLENCY, LADY BRABOURNE, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

We meet to-day to mark the completion of fifty years of unpretentious study and exposition of the Science of Anthropology by the members of our Society. For half a century the Society has carried on its work quietly and unobtrusively, but its solitude-loving members would not be human, if even its fifty-first birthday should not stir in them emotions of jubilation inseparable from so joyous an event in the life of every institution. Hence you see us drawn out to-day from our cells to celebrate the occasion. But even in our exultation our shyness has not deserted us; otherwise, this being an occasion on which an international congress of scholars might well have been justified, we should not have been content with a local celebration.

Your Excellency, this is the first gathering of the Society honoured by the presence of the Head of the Administration of this Presidency and his gracious consort, and I consider myself fortunate that it is my privilege, as President of the Society, to extend to you and to Lady Brabourne, our cordial welcome and to convey to you our warmest thanks for encouraging us with your inspiring presence. On behalf of the Council of the Society I also



welcome all of you, ladies and gentlemen, to this gathering and thank you for giving us the happiness of sharing our joy with you.

## EARLY LITERARY ACTIVITIES IN BOMBAY

As I stand before this distinguished assemblage in this hall, I am reminded of the days when the seeds of corporate intellectual life in this City were first sown by the Bombay Literary Society, which subsequently became the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, under that accomplished scholar and philosopher lawyer, James Mackintosh, on his arrival to assume the office of Recorder in the year 1804. Bombay was then a literary desert; Mackintosh and his colleagues transformed it into a rose-garden. Not only the scholars, scientists and legal luminaries of the times, but also the Governors of Bombay played a glorious part in that transformation. Of the original members of the Society, Governor Duncan was proficient in Persian. After him Mountstuart Elphinstone, one of the early prophets of democracy in India, probably the earliest to see the vision of a self-governing India, held up the glowing torch; and whenever Malcolm, who at the persuasion of Mackintosh undertook to write his famous history of Persia, attended the meetings of the Society, he stood head and shoulders above his colleagues.

Gone are the days when the administrators of the State and the custodians of justice could thus find time for excursions into the realms of scholarship. However, a few among them still continue to take an active interest in the work of literary Societies; and we rejoice to find the present apostolic heir and successor to the office of Mackintosh, our esteemed Chief Justice the

Honourable Sir John Beaumont, maintaining the traditions of Mackintosh in his own quiet way as President of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. Similarly, the literary traditions of the Indian Civil Service are maintained by Mr. H. T. Sorley, one of the gifted Secretaries to the Government of Bombay, who is a valued colleague on the Council of our Society.

### ORIGIN OF THE SOCIETY

When enlightened administrators and distinguished scholars were forging, during the first half of the eighteenth century, a link to bring together the East and the West, the science of Anthropology was yet in embryo. We in the Orient love to trace the origin of modern sciences to the ancient learning and scholarship of the East, but as regards this particular branch of knowledge, we gladly acknowledge our indebtedness to the West. In the commencement, the State and the Church frowned on the pre-Darwinian evolutionists and transmutationists. In 1846 the Government of France nipped in the bud an attempt to found an Anthropological Society in Paris. When, thirteen years thereafter, the Paris Society was duly inaugurated, its President, M. Broca, was bound over to keep its discussions within legitimate and orthodox limits; and for two years a police agent attended the meetings of the Society to keep an eye on its transactions. In Madrid, ill-starred city now in eruption, a similar attempt was suppressed, as it was apprehended that the subject bore "eruptive potentialities"; while in England the question of the Negro's place in nature cleft the ranks of the anthropologists, and the fierce controversies between the Ethnological Society, founded in 1843, and the Anthropological Society,

established in 1863, gave rise to discussions of a volcanic character.

Happily, the founder of our Society, Edward Tyrrel Leith, though a lawyer, was free from such bellicose instincts. He is mentioned in the records of our Society "as a distinguished scholar of versatile talents, a true philosopher, and a worthy disciple of the great anthropologist Aristotle who was the first to conceive the idea of a gradually ascending scheme of organic life." Functioning under his sage guidance, the Society received, during its infancy, encouragement, instead of opposition, from the representatives of the State as well as of the Church. None of them suspected it of propagating doctrines detrimental to society. On the contrary, Government consulted its Council whenever important questions such as the establishment of a central Museum were under consideration, or when important legislation affecting the social life of the people was on the anvil. Members of the Indian Civil Service and other Government Officers joined our Society in large numbers and contributed materially to its success. Some of them, namely, Captain (afterwards Sir) Richard Temple, Brigade Surgeon Dymock, Sir Denzil Ibbetson, Col. Gunthorpe, Sir Herbert Risley, Mr. A. A. Acworth, Sir William Crooks, Lieut. Col. Waters, Col. Kirtikar, Dr. John Pollen, Mr. R. E. Enthoven, Mr. S. M. Edwardes, Sir Claude Hill, Sir William Sheppard, Sir Patrick Cadell, Mr. Justice C. A. Kincaid, Sir Ernest Hotson, Mr. Otto Rothfeld and Mr. G. E. L. Carter, were our Presidents. The Church, too, gave its blessings to the Society. Some of its distinguished representatives, such as the Rev. Dr. Mackichan and Dr. Sir Jivanji Modi, rendered us valued

services and we are proud to have to-day, as our colleagues on the Council of the Society, the Rev. Dr. John McKenzie and the Rev. Father Heras.

Within twenty months of its inauguration our Society was orphaned by the premature death of its illustrious founder. What he did, however, during the short period placed not only the members of our Society but also students of Anthropology generally under his lasting obligation. We are also beholden to the distinguished roll of Presidents and Secretaries and other office-bearers of the Society who have since rendered us valued services. Invidious though it would be to single out names, it would be ingratitude on our part if we failed to pay our special tribute to the memory of Dr. Gerson da Cunha, the talented author of "The Origin of Bombay" and a scholar of varied accomplishments, who, after the death of the founder, was a tower of strength to the Society. But for his exertions, first as Honorary Secretary, then twice as President and again as Secretary, the Society, which at one time almost reached a moribund condition, would not have been kept going. After his death in the year 1900, Dr. Sir Jivanji Modi took over the office of Honorary Secretary to the Society. True to the Society's motto, *surtout de zèle*, he rendered zealous services to the Society as a member for 47 years, as Secretary for 29 years, and as President for two years. During the period he read 114 papers before the Society and edited its journal for 30 years. To the numerous other contributors to our journal, particularly to Prof. Sarat Chandra Mitra, who is our prop and support whenever we are in want of a paper, I convey our Society's most cordial thanks.

## FIFTY YEARS' WORK

Our joy on this occasion is mingled with sorrow that not a single original member of the Society is alive to-day to take part in the celebration of its Jubilee. Were they, however, to come back to us and review the work done by their successors, would they feel pleased? We are not so vain as to think that their impression would be very complimentary to us. The period of half a century that has now closed can scarcely be regarded as one of outstanding discoveries or achievements on our part. None, however, I trust, will withhold from us the credit for having stimulated in this country the study of one of the most fascinating branches of knowledge. At the instance of Sir Denzil Ibbetson, who specially recommended to us the study of Sociology, our Society distributed among various officials an elaborate questionnaire prepared by him, Sir Herbert Risley and others with a view to eliciting information concerning various castes and tribes. The response was rather poor, but, thanks to the perseverance of Sir Herbert, that line of research was eventually taken up by the Government of India; and the result was a series of illuminating monographs on diverse castes and races of India. An ethnological survey was also undertaken in some provinces and one of our ex-Presidents, Mr. R. E. Enthoven, was in charge of the work in the Bombay Presidency. As our resources do not permit of systematic ethnographical research, we have during recent years applied ourselves mainly to the work of collection of material and prosecution of research in the field of cultural anthropology; and, we trust, the records of our proceedings would justify our claim

that by unremitting observation and investigation extending over that special field we have been instrumental in adding to the sum of knowledge concerning the history of human culture, especially the evolution of beliefs, customs, traditions, laws and institutions of the diverse communities in India.

Such continuous studies have thrown a flood of light upon many an obscure chapter in the history of the people and have assisted in some measure in the solution of problems of administration and ethnic and ethical jurisprudence. We regret, however, that the information we have collected has not yet filtered down to the general public. Our journal is printed in English and its circulation is restricted to the limited number of our subscribers. The vernacular literature is woefully deficient in works on subjects of anthropological interest. I, therefore, appeal to writers and popular lecturers in the vernaculars to popularise the subject among the people coming within the sphere of their influence. They would thereby open up for their audiences a new vista of knowledge and create in them the desire to know more and more about the science which treats of mankind as a whole and embraces all that can be known of man in his multiform aspects. They would, moreover, render most useful service to society if, fortified with the data collected by our Society, they wage a war on superstitious beliefs which should have decayed long ago but which still survive in this country. Many a battle has been and is being fought in India in the name of social, religious and political freedom; it is time we carried on a crusade against the domination of the spirits and deities that have for centuries enchained and

enslaved the people of this land. It is not one of our objects, nor have we the means, to embark on such a crusade. We shall, however, be prepared to give all facilities to and co-operate with authors, social reformers, teachers and preachers desirous of combating the evil.

### THE SOCIETY'S JOURNAL

Our journal is our most important achievement. Its first number was published on 31st December 1886; upto date we have published 119 numbers. These volumes contain contributions ranging over the whole field of Anthropology in its broader significance of the science of the evolution of human culture and social organisation and embody a vast collection of facts pertaining to the psychical and ethical histories of our fellow-beings. We propose now to make a concerted effort, with the co-operation of the Universities and institutions interested in the subject, to systematise the material already collected and to chalk out lines of more specialised and intensive study of particular regions and cultures. We recognise also the need for increased activity in those sections in which we have hitherto made little progress, particularly in the sphere of physical anthropology. An institution committed to the study and exposition of so large and varied a subject as anthropology is expected to work, with an energy commensurate therewith, in all its departments. Would that our resources were also commensurate with our responsibilities and our opportunities!

### SLENDER RESOURCES

These resources are unfortunately very meagre. Our membership is not a tithe of what it should be. We have only 75 members on our roll; and we have no source

of income other than the annual fee for membership. After the death of the founder of the Society the new-born zeal for the study of Anthropology appeared to evaporate ; there was a falling off in the number of members, and the Society's funds were at a very low ebb. At one time dissolution seemed imminent, when, happily, it was arranged that the Society should hand over its Museum and its Library to the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society which agreed, in return, to allow the use of one of its rooms for holding our Society's meetings and to give access to the members of the Society to its rooms and records. But for this arrangement, which is in force till this day, the torch of anthropological studies might have been extinguished soon after it was kindled. In the year 1913 Government were pleased to sanction an annual grant of Rs. 500/- for our Society. From the year 1921 to the year 1926, we received an increased grant of Rs. 1,000/- ; it enabled us to build up a surplus fund amounting to Rs. 8,000/-. Then followed an era of depression and retrenchment. Deprived of the Government grant, we had to live on our own slender reserves. We, however, now find ourselves at the end of our tether, and I appeal to public-spirited citizens and patrons of learning to join and support our Society. Unfortunately, the response I often receive to my personal appeals for encouragement of the study of anthropology corresponds in style and substance to the authoritative pronouncement vouchsafed to Oliver Goldsmith by the Principal of the University of Louvain, with reference to his proposal to teach Greek at that University : " You see me, young man," said the learned Principal, " I never learnt Greek, and I don't find that I have



ever missed it. I have had a Doctor's cap and gown without Greek; I have ten thousand florins a year without Greek; I eat heartily without Greek; and, in short, as I don't know Greek, I do not believe there is any good in it." Just as that high dignitary in spite of his doctorate and ten thousand florins a year was the poorer without the golden key that could unlock the treasures of antiquity, so does the man of affairs who sees no good in anthropology lack something which leaves him poor indeed.

### A HELP TO SERVANTS OF THE CROWN

Your Excellency, it is customary for a starving organization to include in its address of welcome to the Governor of the Presidency an appeal for funds from the Government exchequer, but I do not wish to embarrass you by any such request. I would, rather, submit that the Government of Bombay might further the cause of our Society very materially by encouraging their officers to acquire intimate knowledge of the divisions, sub-divisions, beliefs, traditions, usages and institutions of the people among whom they have to work. Due mainly to the efforts of our Society and of the Royal Anthropological Society of Great Britain and Ireland anthropology has already been recognised as one of the optional subjects for candidates for the Indian Civil Service. Our submission now is that it should be a compulsory subject.

The servants of the Crown who joined our Society in fairly large numbers during its early years realised that they would be helped considerably by the knowledge thus acquired in dealing with the day-to-day problems of administration. Indeed no statesman can aspire to govern successfully by contemplating human nature in the ab-

stract and by endeavouring to apply universal rules. Moreover, in a dependency like India the happiness or unhappiness of millions of subjects of the Crown depends on the knowledge possessed by the governing classes of the special moral, intellectual and social characteristics and usages of the different sections of the population. It was Lord Morley's advice to Englishmen coming to India that while bad manners on the part of servants of the Crown were a fault everywhere, they were in India a "crime". May I, Sir, submit that while ignorance of social psychology on the part of officials may be a fault in other Colonies, it is in India a crime? I do not for a moment suggest that there is much ignorance of the subject among the officials. On the contrary, we are indebted to many a member of the Indian Civil Service for their enlightened guidance and co-operation and also for their illuminating research and compilations on the subject. I am merely pleading for more and more knowledge of the subject on the part of every officer so as to ensure more friendly and sympathetic relations between the people and the governing classes.

What applies to the Civil Service applies equally to the judiciary. Indeed, at one time antiquarian research and study of social anthropology, "the embryology of human thought and institutions," had become a passion with lawyers on our side. The Judges of the High Court acquired knowledge and asked for more knowledge of the subject. For instance, Sir Michael Westropp made it a point to inquire into the origin and history of Hindu customs, whenever there was an argument concerning a point of Hindu law based on usage. I well remember Sir Narayanrao Chandavarkar, another distinguished Judge

and student of antiquarian lore, telling us one day that he knew of High Court pleaders who used to go to Sir Michael with some information or other about ancient customs with a view to humouring, as they would say, "the old Chief". He knew also of other advocates, who, while their brethren engaged in a case were humouring the Chief Justice in that way, would whisper to them that they were "regaling the old man with old wives' fables". The Judge, who listened to those tales, however, knew that there was a good deal in such fables to help him in understanding the past aright and be of practical value and guidance not only to the scientist and the philosopher, the social reformer and the legislator, but also to the practical administrator and dispenser of justice.

#### PLACE OF ANTHROPOLOGY IN UNIVERSITY STUDIES

What holds good for legislators, judges, and administrators also holds good for the educated classes generally. In this caste-riven country, educated men and women cannot hope to discharge adequately their duties as citizens, without intimate knowledge and sympathetic understanding of the beliefs and motives underlying the daily observances and religious rites of their fellow-citizens. As early as in the year 1890, it was suggested by Sir Denzil Ibbetson, in his Presidential address to our Society, that Chairs of Anthropology might be founded by the Indian Universities and that the study of the subject should be included in the courses for degrees. Long before him, Professor Huxley had hazarded the prophecy in his address to the British Association at Dublin, in the year 1878, that within a generation some of the discoveries and lessons of Anthropology would be taught in schools. When Sir

Alfred Hopkins came to India, in the year 1915, as an expert to advise the Bombay University, he expressed the opinion that Anthropology should be regarded as one of the important subjects that should be taught in the Universities. The School of Economics and Sociology, since founded by the University for post-graduate studies, provides for instruction in anthropology and ethnology; and a proposal to include Anthropology among the optional subjects for the degree of Bachelor of Arts is now under the consideration of the University authorities.

Indeed, at the present moment when there is a startling recrudescence of primitive passions in some of the civilised nations which appear to be relapsing into barbarism, the need for commencing the study of this subject during the most impressionable years of one's life seems all the greater. The sooner one learns that there is only one species of man the world over and that the differences, though numerous, are only skin-deep, the better for the progress of humanity. Differences in hygienic, economic, educational, and ethical standards estrange the different members of the human family, but these differences are due to passing social conditions and not to so-called innate and fixed racial characteristics. To regard such traits as immutable is to underestimate the environmental factors; and it is the mission of the sociologist and the scientist to correct such errors.

#### PLEA FOR MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING AND FELLOW FEELING

With that end in view the First Universal Races Congress was held at the University of London in July 1911. Representatives of all peoples with developed types of civilization then met to further the cause

of mutual understanding and respect between Occident and Orient. Being one of those who regarded the furtherance of international goodwill as the highest of all human interests, I looked upon the Congress as one of the greatest events of the times and dreamt of results of far-reaching significance. It, however, all seemed a mockery when within three years the great war convulsed mankind from end to end of the world. On the cessation of hostilities the League of Nations came into being. Hopes of international comity were revived, but the failure of the League to prevent even the most flagrant breaches of its covenants has once more shattered all hopes of universal brotherhood. We cannot, however, on that account abandon our ideals or slacken our efforts for their fruition. Such set-backs in the onward march of humanity merely emphasise the need for greater and greater effort to propagate the doctrine of human unity and to disseminate the knowledge of social psychology and anthropology generally.

Unfortunately, this crying need of humanity has not as yet been fully realised. The study of ethnology is still at a very low ebb. That is one of the main reasons why we are once more passing through times when erroneous notions concerning natural differences and innate inequalities are shaking the foundations of organised society in the West. A superficial study of ethnology fosters such conceptions, but a well-directed and comprehensive study of the subject corrects them and induces in the student a sense of fellow-feeling and sympathy which constitute the surest foundations of stable society and good government. All who join our Society subscribe in theory, and I trust also in practice, to the ideal

of mutual understanding and unity and rise above the regional, racial, religious and political barriers that separate man from man. They belong to the world and their study of human culture implies not only passive tolerance of diversities of outlook, castes, creeds and customs, but also active sympathy evoked by the knowledge of their back-ground. The larger the number of people brought under the influence of such Societies, the greater the hope for the fruition of the ideal of world citizenship.

Placed as we are at present, we find our sphere of influence considerably circumscribed. It is our ambition that in future we may be able to extend it so as to touch the life of the people. In that task we appeal to our fellow-countrymen, particularly, to all officers, university graduates, social workers, authors, teachers and preachers, for their active co-operation and support. We hope such support will be forthcoming and we pray that fifty years hence, at the centenary celebration of our Society, or earlier, its President may be able to claim that it had accomplished its mission as a unifying force. We pray that it may also be possible for him to rejoice that as the result of earnest efforts all over the world to spread more and more knowledge of the social, religious, and ethical aspects of the science of Anthropology, humanity had been able to achieve what, in the midst of existing disintegrating forces, now appears to be merely a dream, that it had been freed from the nightmare of race prejudice, and that the puny gospel of hatred at home and hostility abroad, based on groundless assumptions concerning irreducible racial differences, physiological divisions and psychological limitations, had given place to the blessed doctrine of mutual understanding, friendly feeling and hearty co-

operation, rooted in a consciousness of universal community and resulting in ordered effort after progress, intercommunal harmony, international comity and interracial solidarity.

### HIS EXCELLENCY'S SPEECH.

Addressing the meeting, His Excellency the Governor congratulated the President, the Council and the members of the Anthropological Society of Bombay on the completion of fifty years' career of the Society and expressed his and Lady Brabourne's pleasure in attending the Jubilee celebration and hearing about the origin and history of the Society. He then added that, as the President had said, no Governor had previously attended a gathering of the Society, but then, a Jubilee could not, in the nature of things, occur very often, and it was on account of the attainment by the Society of this respectable age that he had accepted the invitation to attend.

### SCIENTIFIC STUDY OF MAN

The poet who said that the proper study of mankind was man, was not speaking in an anthropological sense, but in these days of rapid advance in mechanical and physical knowledge, and of preoccupation in scientific experiment which had made a revolution in the daily life of the people, at all events of those living in towns, there was some danger of neglecting the importance of the study of man himself. Anthropology was the scientific study of man in his racial aspect. The Governor stressed the word 'scientific.' In these days of heated political argument, when, as often as not, ethnological grounds were alleged in support of political theories which it was sought to base upon them, there was a definite value in the cold and dispassionate study of anthropological facts.

"Science is the search for truth, and the establishment of facts must precede the drawing of inferences from them," the Governor added. The scientific method was based on classification of facts, and all known facts must be taken into consideration. It was not right to lose sight of the unity of man by noting only the differences between races, nor was it true science to overlook those various differences, great and small, in order to convey the impression that the many and varied races of mankind were alike. It was the function of science to record and classify similarities and differences alike, and to keep recorded fact distinct from inference.

### NEED FOR TRAINING.

The President had suggested that members of the Civil Services should receive a training in anthropology. It was his experience that district officers had, as a rule, a wide and detailed knowledge of the peculiarities of the various castes and creeds within their districts, and of their social customs, preferences and prejudices. These phenomena were the basis of anthropological study, and the knowledge of them was more important than that of theory. It would, however, be useful if officers had some training in theory, as they could more usefully observe and record these social facts for the information of students of anthropology.

Anthropology was essentially a post-graduate subject of study, and it would be difficult to include it as a subject in a competitive examination. It was open to question whether it was of sufficient importance to civil servants to justify its inclusion, but lectures on this subject used to be



given at Cambridge to I. C. S. probationers, and possibly they still were.

### VALUABLE FIELD IN INDIA.

In any case, it was a subject which could be studied as a hobby, and surely there could be no better country in which to study it than in India. India had a clear geographical area to which the only approaches by land were few and known, and, through these, history recorded the invasion by successive waves of invaders. The varieties of castes, races and religions could be distinguished in each area, and the survival of traditional and distinctive dress made the study easier and more interesting. It was possible to see how far the successive streams of invaders had coalesced and how far they had remained distinct, and to compare the effect of local conditions in one area with those of conditions in another area on the same races. The study of what may be called local religion was in itself of intense interest.

These studies were for the members, and were the reason for the existence of the Society. They were never likely to be popular in the ordinary sense of the word, but the Governor hoped that they would receive more attention as their value and intrinsic interest became better known. His Excellency felt sure that the Society was doing its best to bring about this result and he therefore wished the members all success, and sincerely endorsed the President's appeal for more members and more funds.

At the instance of Revd. Dr. J. McKenzie, the meeting accorded a hearty vote of thanks to His Excellency the Governor for having presided at the meeting.

## WHO ARE THE DESCENDANTS OF THE PEOPLE OF MOHEN-JO-DARO?

BY SIR PATRICK CADELL, KT., C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S. (*Retd.*)

The discovery of the civilization which underlay the heaps of earth at Mohen-jo-daro and Harappa has led to many surmises regarding the race of the people responsible for that civilization. The identification of the descendants of that race, if any exist, would be a matter of great interest, even if no conclusion could thereby be formed to enlighten us as to the manner and beliefs of the founders of the Indus Valley Civilization. It is generally agreed that these founders belonged to a pre-Aryan race and that they, or some of them, spoke an agglutinative language of the Dravidian family.<sup>1</sup> They came to India, probably through Sumer, the similarity between the Sumerian and Dravidian ethnic type being alleged<sup>2</sup> to be noticeable, and through Baluchistan where a pocket of a Dravidian tongue remains in the Brahvi language. Father Heras is confident<sup>3</sup> that their original home was Libya in North Africa and that they were Dravidian. He claims to have deciphered their script and to have found it connected with the early forms of the Dravidian languages of India. For the full proofs of his discovery we must await the book which the Reverend Father has promised us. In the meanwhile there is no reason to doubt that a predominant element in the population was Dravidian. This does not,

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1 Marshall "Mohen-jo-daro," I, p. 42. Banerji "Prehistoric Hindu Religion," p. 2. Heras, *New Review*, July, 1936.

2 "Cambridge Ancient History," I, p. 48.

3 *New Review*, July, 1936.

however, help us very greatly. As Dr. Hunter has pointed out,<sup>1</sup> the fact of the Indus Valley being inhabited by Dravidians would not exclude the possibility of a riverine or maritime people being responsible for Mohen-jo-daro and Harappa. Moreover, even if it be admitted that a Dravidian people brought the script and the culture with them, and that they constructed Mohen-jo-daro, we have no knowledge of the numbers or of the exclusiveness of this people. The varying physical types of the people speaking Dravidian tongues at the present day show that they must have freely intermingled with the Nisadic races which were in India when they arrived. That the process of admixture must have been early and extensive in the Indus Valley is indicated by the fact that the skeletal remains found at Mohen-jo-daro indicate the presence of at least four distinct types.<sup>2</sup>

Sir John Marshall has pointed out the necessity for a proper Anthropological Survey of Sind, in order to ascertain the predominant characteristics of its present day inhabitants. The Ethnological Volume dealing with the Census of India in 1931 does not help us greatly with this question. It indicates from the measurements of a comparatively limited number of Brahvis and of Sindhi Mussulmans that the former, in spite of their mixed blood, are more dolichocephalic, and therefore probably more Dravidian, than the Sindhis, while the latter are racially divergent from the inhabitants of the Panjab, so far as these were examined.<sup>3</sup> A further and fuller survey seems therefore desirable, and it might be well to include Kathiawar in

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1 "The Script of Mohen-jo-daro," p. 12.

2 Marshall *op. cit.* I, 58. Mackay "Indus Civilization," p. 200.

3 "Census of India," Vol. I, Part III, p. XXIV.

it. The connection between Sind and Kathiawar (in which Kutch may for this purpose be included) was much closer up to a comparatively recent period than it is at present, though it has never entirely ceased. It has been established that in the age of the Mohen-jo-daro civilization, the climate of Sind must have been much damper than it is at present. It is probable that the South-West Monsoon then reached it and that the rainfall was therefore considerable. Branches of the Indus, and probably the Hakro, or "lost river of Sind," ran to the Rann of Kutch and may even have constituted Kathiawar an island by reaching what is now the Gulf of Cambay. That the movement of large tribes and races from Sind into Kathiawar was always easy is shown by the streams of invaders whom we know to have passed by this route—Persians, Bactrian Greeks, Skythians, Parthians and Huns. These were followed by many tribes of war-like races, Sammas, Jadejas and Jhalas, probably of varying Turkish or Skythian origin, who were assumed into the Hindu fold and were classed as Rajputs. Almost the latest and the smallest of these races were the Kathis who, by a curious chance, have given their name to the whole peninsula. The process of migration from Sind into Kathiawar (but never to any appreciable extent in the converse direction), generally under the pressure of foreign invaders from the North-West, has thus been constant through the ages, and has diminished only because that pressure has ceased and because the natural difficulties of the journey have increased. It would therefore not be unreasonable to expect to find descendants of the Mohen-jo-daro stock in Kathiawar as much as in Sind.

It may indeed be objected that the successive waves

of invasion, especially in Sind, have been so numerous and complete that the original races must have been submerged to the point of extinction. It cannot be denied that these invasions must have had a great effect upon the population. We know that the incursion of Sakas from Eastern Persia and Afghanistan into Sind was so great that in Indian literature the term "Skythia" is equivalent to Sind.<sup>1</sup> We are told also that in Sind the type of the people became Turko-Iranian west of the Indus, and Scytho-Dravidian east of that river. Ptolemy (Ch. VII, 55) includes, moreover, in his Indo-Skythia, Syrastene, which must represent the modern Sorath, or Kathiawar. It seems likely, therefore, that the population of Sind and Kathiawar in his day included the same elements of foreign invaders. It is probable, however, that the invaders, though more powerful in war, were comparatively few in numbers and that much of the existing population remained unaffected in race, as was the case when the Romans invaded Gaul, or the Turkish tribes seized Anatolia. It may therefore be worth while, if only as an interesting speculation, to consider which of the existing races in Sind and Kathiawar may descend from the people of the era of the Indus Valley Civilization. I would venture to suggest that there are three of these; the Muhanas of Sind (including the Mianas of Kathiawar), some portion of the Jats of Sind and Kathiawar, and some sections of the Kolis of Kathiawar.

Of these three, the Muhanas are, for our purpose, the most interesting and the most important. It has always been recognized, and is indeed obvious to the present day, that they form an element entirely distinct from the rest

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1 "Cambridge Ancient History," I, p. 560.

of the inhabitants of Sind, and from their Mussalman co-religionists, and it has been generally believed that this element has more claim to be called aboriginal than any other. Both Postans,<sup>1</sup> (who, it may be noted, speaks of them by preference as Mianis), and Burton<sup>2</sup> note their difference from the ordinary Sindhi, and the latter claims them as the descendants of the original Hindu inhabitants. He also points out that, in spite of their Islamic religion, they still worship the spirits of the river and the lake. The Mianas of Kathiawar, who are undoubtedly of the same stock, claim to be descended from a tribe called "Meh" in Sind.<sup>3</sup> A better idea of the extent and antiquity of the race may be gathered from the names attached to them and to their villages. The latter are invariably called in Sind "Miani" which is generally translated as meaning a fishing village. The name, however, appears to refer to the dwellers in such places rather than to their occupation. It is found also applied to considerable ports such as Son-miani in Baluchistan, and the ancient trading town of Miani<sup>4</sup> in the Porbandar State of Kathiawar, which is often combined in old writings with Porbandar itself, lying at the other extremity of the same bay, as Pormian. Of even greater interest is the name Minnagar. A city of this name was described by the author of the *Periplus* as being the capital of Skythia (*i.e.*, Indo-Skythia). It is generally supposed to be the true form of the name Binagara, mentioned by Ptolemy as one of the cities on the river Indus.<sup>5</sup> But it is clear that the name

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1 "Personal Observations," p. 58.

2 "Sindh," p. 252. "Scende or the Unhappy Valley," II, p. 234.

3 "Bombay Gazetteer," VIII, p. 166.

4 "Bombay Gazetteer," VIII, p. 547.

5 McCrindle's "Ptolemy," p. 52 (Calcutta Edition).

was applied to more than one place. The local Sind history, the "Tuhfat-u'l Kiram," mentions a Min-nagar<sup>1</sup> in Shahdadpur Taluka, which, if correctly so located, can hardly be the Skythian capital. Again, the place called Minnagara by the author of the Periplus from which much cotton was brought to Broach has been identified with the city of Junagadh in Kathiawar, an old name of which was Manipur.<sup>2</sup>

Now we may be sure that when several places bear the same name, that name is derived from its occupants or its founders. Pottinger, indeed, writing early in the last century, seems to have stumbled on the truth when he states<sup>3</sup> that the ancient capital Minnagara doubtless represented Meean-rugger. His interpretation of this as "the central city" is clearly wrong, as no capital ever received such a title. But the name may well mean the town of the Mianas.

The spread of the Muhanas or Mianas need not, however, be judged only from the names of their towns. Though now principally found on inland rivers and lakes, they have always professed to be seamen, and indeed the Mianas of Kutch and Kathiawar still man sea-going vessels. There are many indications that their interests on the sea were originally of far greater importance. The Java account of the Hindu colonisation of that island states that the colonising fleet started from the Mira Sea, and there is some indication that the Arabs may have called the sea near the Gujarat and Sind Coast

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1 Haig "Indus Delta Country," p. 32.

2 "Bom. Gaz.," Pt. I, p. 544, VIII, p. 487.

3 "Travels in Sind," p. 382.

the Meds' sea.<sup>1</sup> We are told that Jats from the Indus and from Kutch (of whom more later) occupied in the sixth century A.D. the islands in the Persian Gulf and probably were the moving spirits in the earliest Moslem raids upon the coast of India. We learn that the seafaring classes and particularly the pirates in the seventh and eighth centuries consisted to a large extent of Meds from the coasts of Mekran, Sind and Kathiawar, and in 892 A.D. Alberuni described the pirates as Meds.<sup>2</sup> Now the Muhanas of Mekran and, to some extent, of Sind are still called Meds.<sup>3</sup> A further connection may be traced in the honorific title by which the Muhanas of Sind delight to call themselves "Mir-Bahr" or "Lord of the Sea." The designation is sufficiently absurd when it is applied to a fisherman on an inland lake, but the high sounding distinctions which even the lowest of Indian races love to assume are often corruptions of a more common-place designation. It may be conjectured without improbability that the name "Mer-Bahr," Mer or Med of the sea, came to be changed into the lordly title. At the time of the Arab conquest of Sind, 712 A.D., the Mheds or Mers were the most powerful tribe in Lower Sind.<sup>4</sup>

It is indeed often supposed that the Meds, Mhers, or Mands, of whom constant traces appear along the western coast from Mekran to Gujarat, must have belonged to the great tribe of Mers, probably White Huns from Central Asia, which traversed the Panjab, Sind, and Kathiawar from 470 to 900 A.D. Members of that tribe

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1 "Bom. Gaz.", Vol. I, Pt. I, pp. 492-494.

2 "Bom. Gaz.", Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 493, XIII, Pt. II, 433.

3 Aitken's "Sind Gazetteer," p. 187.

4 Elliot and Dowson, I, p. 128.



are still to be found in Sind in large numbers (under the tribal name of Mahars), and in the Kathiawar State of Porbandar, where they form the loyal supporters of their Jethwa ruler, who has perhaps sprung from the same stock. No one who has seen their distinctive features and bearing can doubt their northern origin, or imagine them to be aboriginal inhabitants. But there is nothing to indicate that they even had any partiality for the sea : while not only the Muhanas as we have seen, but the Kolis also are called Mers or Medhs, and Mer is a favourite surname for Muhammedan sea captains and pilots.<sup>1</sup>

To return to the Muhanas, though they are now confined to fishing and plying of boats, there is no reason to suppose that they were, or are, incapable of any other occupation. They can be good cultivators<sup>2</sup> and many of them are petty contractors. There is a tribe admittedly of the same race, living in the hills between Sind and Baluchistan, who are far away from lakes and rivers. The Mianas of Kathiawar have indeed shown only too great a power of adaptability in taking up the trade of robbery and plunder and in thus being until recent years a scourge to the whole province.

The Muhanas were often credited during my early service in Sind with having peculiar words of their own, but none of these have come within my own knowledge except the names of wild fowl, and particularly of the various species of duck and teal which are so plentiful in Sind. It will be common knowledge that to the average Indian, and particularly to the ordinary cultivator, all wild birds are the same, and no distinction is made in particular

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1 "Bom. Gaz.", I, Pt. I, p. 141.

2 Hughes "Sind J," p. 712.

between the members of the duck tribe. The Muhanas, however, have separate names for every species of duck, and often a name for the female bird distinct from that of the male. Years afterwards in Kathiawar, I found the Vaghri, a fishing and hunting tribe, having the same pursuits as the Muhanas, using exactly the same names for the various birds. It is probable therefore that there was originally a language common to the early inhabitants of Sind and Kathiawar. If it still exists in the names of wild fowl, it may be found for other objects also.

Finally, it may be observed that Father Heras has translated the inscription on a Mohen-jo-daro seal as follows :—

“The four strong Kurangas from among the people of the United countries who possessed the fort (which was) seen, crossed and taken over by the strong-legged Minas.”<sup>1</sup>

Is it possible that these strong-limbed gentlemen were the people who occupied the various towns called Minnagar, and that from them are descended the present Mianas and Muhanas ?

The other two races with which we are concerned may be treated more briefly.

The Jāts or Jats have constituted a large proportion of the rural population of Sind since very early days. Doubtless the Jāts were a northern, probably Skythian, race, still forming the backbone of the Panjab peasantry, holding the States of Bhurtpur and Dholpur, and closely akin to the Gujars who gave their name to Gujarat.<sup>2</sup> But under the name of Jat (pronounced Jutt) they, or another

<sup>1</sup> Article in Review, July, 1936.

<sup>2</sup> “Bom. Gaz.”, I, Pt. I, p. 2.

race, have always been an integral part of the Sind population, sufficiently numerous to have a dialect (Jatki) of their own. Postans<sup>1</sup> regarded them as in all probability the original Hindu inhabitants : and, though Burton<sup>2</sup> thought this view to be an error originally, he changed his opinion when he revisited Sind many years later. We have seen that it was the Jats from the Indus and from Kutch that seized the shores of the Persian Gulf. In the ninth century A.D. they were still making descents from the Indian coasts on the shores near the mouth of the Tigris. They were strong enough to beat back the first Arab attacks by land upon Sind, and in the tenth century A.D., the geographer Ibn Haukal<sup>3</sup> describes them as living in morasses by the mouths of the Indus. They were still sufficiently powerful in the tenth century to harass Mahmud of Ghazni, and drew down a punitive expedition on to their heads.<sup>4</sup> The reference to the Jâts met in this expedition as "black lions" in Farrukhi's verse, and the fact that they fought on the river in boats may suggest that they belonged to early tribes rather than to comparatively recent immigrants from the north.

Their devotion to their camels has long been famous in Sind. The term "Jätt" is indeed synonymous in modern Sind with "camelman," whatever the real tribe of the man may be : too often also it carries the significance of "blockhead" with it. In Kutch and Kathiawar the Jats are not numerous. They maintain their connection with animals by being cattle dealers, not without some suspicion of being cattle stealers as well. Obviously the

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1 "Personal Observations," p. 40.

2 "Scende or Unhappy Valley," II, p. 116. "Scende Revisited," I, p. 97.

3 Aitken's "Gazetteer," p. 87. 189.

4 Nazim's "Sultan Mahmud," p. 121

whole Jat race in Sind is a very mixed one : but, as a people of long standing, with hereditary aptitude for tending animals whether camels, buffaloes or oxen, they may well contain an ancient strain, and may be worth a detailed survey.

The Kolis of Kathiawar come within our view because they claim the sea-shore in the delta of the Indus as their early home.<sup>1</sup> They were then called Mers and we have seen that they still contain sections which call themselves Meds. From the earliest days of history they were the most inveterate pirates of the Kathiawar coast and continued the practice throughout the ages so that on four occasions the British had to send expeditions against them.<sup>2</sup> The Kolis are of course a very mixed race. Their name is generally taken to represent the clansman, the man of the *Kul*, as opposed to the Kutumbhi, or Kunbi, the man of the family. But an equally appropriate derivation is from "kola" or half-caste, and in that sense the word is used in Elliot's History.<sup>3</sup> The Koli may vary so greatly that in Gujarat he is sometimes indistinguishable from the wildest Bhil, and in Kathiawar from the highest Rajput. It is at least possible that the northern sections of the Kolis on the Western Coast have some descent from the sea-faring tribes of the age of the Indus Valley Civilization.<sup>4</sup>

It would be pleasant to imagine that descendants of the people of Mohen-jo-daro are still to be found. Proof may be difficult to obtain, but it seems worth while to enquire.

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1 "Bom. Gaz.", VIII, p. 139.

2 In 1748, 1768, 1771 and 1794.

3 "Bom. Gaz.", IX, I, p. 239 ; Elliott, II, p. 200.

4 Father Heras believes that he has found many references on the seals of Mohen-jo-daro to the Kolis under the totem sign of jungle fowl or hen, as there is in the Dravidian languages a word meaning hen which resembles Koli.

# TREE WORSHIP IN MOHENJO DARO.

By REV. H. HERAS, S.J.

In his chapter on the religion of Mohenjo Daro Sir John Marshall has a few paragraphs on tree worship as far as it could be ascertained from the study of the figures on terracotta amulets and steatite seals found during the excavations. Unfortunately, Sir John could not substantiate his statements with any text, for the inscriptions were not yet deciphered. Now after the deciphering of all those inscriptions we shall be able to define this cult as practised in Mohenjo Daro with much more certainty than the late Director-General of Archæology was able to do.

That tree worship should have existed at Mohenjo Daro is not at all strange. It is well known how this cult is much propagated among the South Indian people, who are the genuine representatives of the pre-Āryan inhabitants of India.

This cult is a very ancient sort of worship very often mentioned in the Mohenjo Daro inscriptions. The trees thus venerated were called holy.<sup>1</sup> There was at least one sacred tree in every city or village.<sup>2</sup> One of the inscriptions of Mohenjo Daro speaks of the holy tree of the cave.<sup>3</sup> This cave may be the cave inhabited by some learned Minas,<sup>4</sup> who probably were ascetics devoted to a

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1 Marshall, M. D., No. 428; Pl. CXIII, Nos. 418 and 420.

2 *Ibid.*, H., No. 16 and *passim*.

3 *Ibid.*, M. D., No. 428.

4 *Ibid.*, M. D., No. 21.

life of study and contemplation. Some of these trees belonged to private persons. One is said to be the property of three persons of the village.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, it is evident that there were some trees famous throughout the country. Three of them are mentioned as belonging to three political unions of two countries. One is called "the holy tree of the canalized united countries of the Minas."<sup>2</sup> (The country of the Minas was united with the country of the Bilavas).<sup>3</sup> The other tree is said to belong to the canalized united countries of the Kalakilas.<sup>4</sup> (The other country united with the Kalakilas was the country of the Kāvals).<sup>5</sup> The third tree is said to belong to the union called *Pagalkalakūr*<sup>6</sup> which we have not been able to identify up to now.

In some cases some holy trees seem to have had properties the revenue of which was used for the maintenance of the cult, just as temples and images had, also. Thus an inscription mentions "five houses of the tree of the village of the prosperous Minas".<sup>7</sup>

What kinds of trees were thus considered to be sacred? Sir John Marshall rightly maintains that one of the trees mostly venerated by the Mohenjo Daris was the Pipal tree (*Ficus Religiosa*).<sup>8</sup> In one of the seals the

1 *Ibid.*, Pl. CXVI, No. 9.

2 *Ibid.*, Pl. CXVII, No. 9; *Ibid.*, M. D., Nos. 409 and 403.

3 Cf. Heras, *Mohenjo Daro, the People and the Land, Indian Culture*, III, p. 710.

4 Photo, M. D., 1929-30, Dk, 8696. This and similar footnotes refer to photos of inscriptions not yet published kindly supplied by the Archaeological Survey of India.

5 Cf. Heras, *op. cit.*, p. 713.

6 Photo, M. D., 1929-30, Dk, 8850.

7 Marshall, M. D., Pl. CXVI, No. 15.

8 *Ibid.*, I, p. 64.

leaves of the pipal tree are clearly depicted.<sup>1</sup> In another from Chāñhu Daro, the leaves are not so skilfully treated, but may still be recognised as pipal leaves.<sup>2</sup> The inscriptions confirm the surmise of Sir John. One of them among all other trees refers to the pipal tree of the garden.<sup>3</sup> Another refers to the pipal tree that is in the *nāivēl*.<sup>4</sup> The *nāivēl* is a plant now called *Flacourtia Sapida*, but in those days it had to be a creeper, otherwise it could not be said that the pipal tree was in it. This epigraph shows that the pipal tree was actually surrounded by the creeper, so that the tree was as it were in the centre of the *nāivēl*. A third inscription refers to the noise produced by the leaves of two pipal trees.<sup>5</sup> Evidently there was some popular belief about this noise.

Another inscription mentions an acacia as if it were a sacred tree. The inscription is very short and it reads as follows : *palir* or *vēl*,<sup>6</sup> i.e., "one acacia of the citizens." This way of mentioning the trees seems to be always used in connection with those which are considered sacred.

No doubt there were other trees also worshipped by these early people. Actually a few trees or shrubs are mentioned in the inscriptions, like the white *siris*, *velvēl*,<sup>7</sup> and the acacias several times, but in most of the cases one cannot be sure whether such trees were venerated.

1 *Ibid.*, M. D., No. 887.

2 Masumdar, *Explorations in Sind*, Pl. XVII, No. 84.

3 Marshall, M. D., No. 183.

4 *Ibid.*, M. D., No. 150.

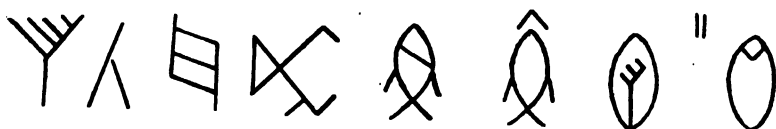
5 Masumdar, *op. cit.*, Pl. XVII, No. Cf. Heras, *Two Proto-Indian Inscriptions from Chāñhu Daro*, J. B. O. R. S., XXII, p. pp. 316-319.

6 Marshall, M. D., Pl. CXVI, No. 15.

7 *Ibid.*, H., No. 99.

Only once an acacia is mentioned which seems actually to have been worshipped.<sup>1</sup>

Judges were often passing their judgement when settling litigations under a tree. In one inscription it is said that a tree will not become the judge tree.<sup>2</sup> Another tree is called "the judgement tree which is in the country."<sup>3</sup> A third epigraph refers to another tree of this kind in the following way :



This inscription reads from right to left :

*Uril ire tal'ir Mīnan mīn nandīl ulāvan tīr maram*<sup>4</sup>  
which translated into English means :

"The judging tree of the shining farmer of the Crab  
of the prosperous Minas who is in the country."

This tree is said to be "the judging tree of the Farmer of the Crab". Now since the Farmer of the Crab was the title of the King of Nandūr (Mohenjo Daro),<sup>5</sup> this tree seems to be the tree under which the king of the Minas of Nandūr used to pass his judgement in cases brought to his notice. It is not clear whether mere judging trees were considered sacred also.

Very often the tree cult was accidentally or essentially connected with other objects of worship. In one case a *linga* apparently was being worshipped under a

<sup>1</sup> Photo, M. D., 1929-30, No. 6229.

<sup>2</sup> Marshall, *op. cit.*, Pl. CXIII, No. 448.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 541.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, H., No. 38.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Heras, *The Religion of Mohenjo Daro People according to the Inscriptions*, *Journal of the University of Bombay*, V, p. 25.



pipal tree.<sup>1</sup> To connect the cult of trees with the cult of the sun seems to be more frequent. Once several trees are said to be in the high sun,<sup>2</sup> which cryptic expression must be, according to the Mohenjo Daro system, understood in the opposite way, *viz.*, that the high sun is in the trees, or above the trees. Another epigraph only mentions "the tree of one sun".<sup>3</sup> (This is an evident allusion to the sect of the two suns, which is one of the greatest puzzles in the subject of the Mohenjo Daro religion.) There was undoubtedly a natural relation between the sun and the trees, perhaps due to the fact that in spring when the rays of the sun grow warmer the trees are covered with new and luxuriant foliage. In any case, as the second inscription mentioned above seems to suggest one of the times when feasts in honour of trees were celebrated was when the sun was passing above the holy trees.

The connection between the holy trees and the Fish (one of the zodiacal constellations and accordingly one of the forms of God) is still more evident. "The tree of the Fish," says one of the inscriptions<sup>4</sup>; and another: "The holy tree of the dark beginning of the Fish."<sup>5</sup> (This last expression means that the sun in that year entered the Fish at the beginning of the waxing moon). The Fish in Mohenjo Daro is an emblem of fertility.<sup>6</sup> Hence it was supposed to be the cause of the luxuriant growth of the tree.

What were the different rites in vogue for worship-

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1 Photo, M. D., 1928-9, No. 6753.

2 *Ibid.*, No. 6091.

3 Marshall, M. D., No. 55.

4 Photo, M. D., 1930-1, No. 12551.

5 Photo, M. D., 1929-30, Dk, 792.

6 Cf. Heras, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

ping the trees? According to the inscriptions, to see the tree was supposed to be an act of worship.<sup>1</sup> Meditating on the tree, probably under the tree itself (as Buddha did before his enlightenment) was also common. Thus an inscription says that "the Minas meditate on the three holy trees".<sup>2</sup> What was the subject of such meditation? One inscription mentions one of these subjects, but evidently this was not the only one. The inscription in question is as follows:



which reads :

*Ilil ūrvelī pēr mīn en mūn arior paṭi maram adu<sup>3</sup>*

In English :

"That (is) the tree of the village of the three noblemen [under which tree] the Great Fish who is in the house outside (beyond) the country was being meditated upon."

After the study of these inscriptions one may easily realize that the spirit of the tree is not the object worshipped when worshipping the tree. Spirits are mentioned in the Mohenjo Daro inscriptions,<sup>4</sup> but they are never mentioned in connection with the trees. This idea seems to have originated at a later period. At the time of the period under study trees apparently were being worshipped, as an effect of the fertility of God, produced through the Sun and symbolized by the Fish.

1 Marshall, M. D., Nos. 410, 428.

2 *Ibid.*, M. D., No. 425.

3 *Ibid.*, No. 429.

4 Cf. *Ibid.*, No. 312.

Thus the explanation of the seal reproduced in Vol. I, Pl. XII, No. 16, by Sir John Marshall,<sup>1</sup> should be revised. The deity whose epiphany is represented upon the tree is not the spirit of the tree, and much less a female spirit. It is the same An, the Supreme Being, seen on seal No. 17 of the same Plate surrounded by the totems of the Mohenjo Daro tribes-representation which has been called the Paśupati. This identification may be proved : first, by the trident placed over the head of these two figures (Sir John Marshall thinks that they are horns). It is the *vēl*, the trident, the most common symbol of An mentioned in the inscriptions. This trident probably had four points, so that it would appear a trident from the four points of the compass, as may be clearly seen in a standing copper statue discovered at Khafage in Sumer in 1930-31<sup>2</sup>; second, the long lock of hair represented hanging behind the head of the deity appearing on the tree, is also represented once in the case of the pictograph of the Supreme Being in the inscriptions. This lock of hair is also shown behind the head of the Supreme Being—here certainly shown as a man—in the *yoga* pose similar to that of the above seal, which appears in a fragmentary seal discovered at Mohenjo Daro after the publication of Sir John Marshall's work.<sup>3</sup> Later this detail of the hair is suppressed from the pictograph. Again the copper statue of Khafage has two long locks of hair hanging on each side of the head. Long hair in any way seems to have a natural connection with the Supreme Being, perhaps as a sign of physical power and strength.<sup>4</sup>

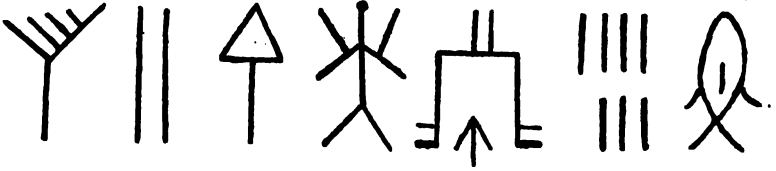
1 Marshall, *op. cit.*, I, Pl. XII, No. 18.

2 Fronkfort, *Tell Asmar and Khafage*, 1930-31, figs. 92 and 93 (Chicago, 1292).

3 Photo, M. D., 1930-31, No. 7997.

4 Cf. *Book of Judges*, XVI<sup>17</sup>.

There is another inscription which establishes another rite in connection with the cult of the tree. It is thus :



The inscription reads :

*Mīn ēl sā kaḍavuḷ kaṇ īr maram<sup>1</sup>*

The English translation runs as follows :

“The two trees [under which] the seven shining persons saw the god of death.”

Another inscription simply states: “the tree of the death of the three counted Minas who were in the country.”<sup>2</sup> While another one says: “two trees seen by the seven dead men of the Fish.”<sup>3</sup> Elsewhere I have established the fact that in Mohenjo Daro there were human sacrifices,<sup>4</sup> a rite that has continued among the Dravidian people of India till very late in the historic period. Apparently a number of these sacrifices, if not all, took place under one or more sacred trees. These sacrifices were not made to the tree, but to God, though they selected the shade of the trees as a spot already consecrated by awe and religion. The expression that those seven persons saw the God of death under the two trees, evidently is equivalent to dying under the two trees.

What was the origin of this cult? In the course

<sup>1</sup> Marshall, M. D., No. 494.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, II., No. 142.

<sup>3</sup> Photo, M. D., 1929-30, Dk, 3697.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Heras, *The Religion of the Mohenjo Daro People*, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-23.

of this paper we have seen that the idea of the spirit inhabiting the tree did not exist at that early period. It is a later superstition. But how was this tree worship born among the proto-Dravidian people? An inscription refers to "the tree of the god of the Kalakilas."<sup>1</sup> This expression is very significant for strange religious ideas and cults sprang up from among the Kāvals and their friends the Kalakilas. The cult of the *linga* was theirs before it was introduced among the Minas.<sup>2</sup> Similarly there was among them a sect worshipping two suns,<sup>3</sup> and another venerating three suns.<sup>4</sup> On account of all these innovations and owing to the repugnance shown by the Minas to the phallic cult, I suggested that these tribes apparently belonged to the Kolarian stock.<sup>5</sup> There is no mention of any opposition made against the cult of the trees, but the fact that one of these trees is said to be "of the god of the Kalakilas," seems to point to the same origin. In point of fact the purity of the religion of the Mohenjo Daro people and specially the knowledge of the self-subsistence of God which they possessed,<sup>6</sup> evidently suggests that the worship of creatures was an excrescence most likely introduced from outside.

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1 Photo, M. D., 1929-30, Dk, 3696.

2 Cf. Heras, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

3 A. S. of I. Report, 1929-30, Pl. XXVIII, (e).

4 Cf. Heras, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

5 Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

6 Cf. Heras, *The Religion of the Mohenjo Daro People*, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

# THE ORIGIN OF CERTAIN POT-FORMS.

BY HAROLD PEAKE, ESQR., M.A., F.S.A.

It is a common-place of Anthropology that 'the earliest potters used as models for their wares such vessels as their customers had hitherto possessed. Further the peculiarities and texture of these vessels, and any decoration that they may have had, provided *motifs* for the ornamentation of the vases. Thus in pre-dynastic Egypt we find painted pots clearly copied from stone bowls or bottles, and the spirals of plaited rush, used as pads to prevent the latter from crashing during transit, appear as painted decoration upon the former. Gourds had been largely used for containing liquids in pre-ceramic days, especially in the lands bordering the north-eastern shores of the Mediterranean Sea. Some of these were encased in a net-work of rushes, and the Bronze Age vases of Cyprus reproduce this net-work in dark lines upon a light ground. Baskets were widely used by food-collecting peoples, and pots imitating these are found in many lands, such as pre-dynastic Egypt, the Cyclades and South Germany. The decoration of such pots imitates weaving or plaiting patterns, best seen in the geometric wares of Greece.

Bearing this in mind we need not be surprised to find like forms and similar decoration appearing in lands far distant from one another, between which we have been unable to trace cultural contact. In these cases direct diffusion is out of the question, yet we need not call to our aid the theory of a wholly independent invention. In

some of these cases it seems likely that primitive men used for vessels whatever came to their hand, and gourds, found in widely distant lands, invite their use. More often, however, hunting peoples, whose range had been extensive, had used baskets and other simple fabrics for holding fruits and nuts, and the habit of making these may have been diffused throughout many regions, in some of which they were translated into pottery when with the advent of agriculture men began to lead a settled life.

One such repetition of form, occurring in two widely separated areas, has long puzzled archaeologists. There have been found in Middle Egypt certain goblets, narrow and hemispherical at the base but with wide expanding rims; these are often known as Badarian, though more correctly as Tasian beakers, and are thought to date from before 5000 B.C. Vessels of almost identical form have been found on or near the Upper Rhine; these are called Michelsberg beakers or tulip-vases, and are believed to have been used about 2000 B.C. It has long been a problem how two such like forms should have arisen nearly 2000 miles apart with a difference of 3000 years in date.

In 1911 and again in 1913 Schuchhardt pointed out that all the pottery west of the Rhine was of a leathery texture; this he called *beutelstil*,<sup>1</sup> which Poisson has translated *le style de bourse*,<sup>2</sup> and we may render bag-ware. In 1919 Schuchhardt suggested that this ware had been made in imitation of the leathern bags used by the mesolithic peoples, and described how he imagined these

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1 Schuchhardt, C. *Das technische Ornament in den Anfängen der Kunst*. Prähist. Zeitschr. II, (Berlin, 1911) 147; *Westeuropa als Kulturkreis*, Kön.-Preuss. Akad. Wiss. Berlin. (1918) 786.

2 Poisson, G. *Les civilisations néolithiques et énéolithiques de la France*. Rev. Anthropol. (Paris, 1928) 250.

bags had been made. He pointed out that in a museum in Berlin there was a jug from Egypt of Roman date, all but the handle of which had been made out of one piece of leather, and that he had been advised by a leather-worker in the same city that bowls could be made by taking the skin off the rump of a horse or a cow, damping it and pressing it into shape on a round stone. The carinated vessels, with the lower part convex and the upper concave, had been copied, he thought, from leathern bags, stiffened with a lining, and with a soft upper part sewn on.<sup>1</sup>



MORAVIA

EL ARGAR, SPAIN

FIG. 1. CARINATED VASES.

a) MORAVIA. b) EL ARGAR, SPAIN.

While I find myself on the whole in agreement with these generalisations, I cannot agree to the details. For instance, I cannot bring myself to believe that humble food-collectors would have found time or energy to beat out the leather or to sew the pieces together. They were far too fully engaged in collecting the all too meagre supplies of food necessary for their sustenance. The shapes of the great majority of the bowls that have been found suggest a different origin.

The forms of these pots lead one to suspect that the

1 Schuchhardt, O. (1911) 146; *Altteleuropa in seinen Kultur und Stilentwicklung*. Ed.i. (Strasburg & Berlin, 1919) 50, 51, 54.



mesolithic folk, not only in the west of Europe but elsewhere as well, were accustomed to use as bags for holding their most treasured possessions that part of their anatomy that their male victims had used for a like purpose. This custom was recently in vogue in Turkey, while even at the present day a similar bag, made from the *scrotum* of a goat, is used by Hungarian shepherds as a tobacco-pouch. One such pouch, obtained by Dr. G. Bersu from a shepherd at Tószeg in Hungary, is in my possession as a treasured gift from him, and its resemblance to the Tasian beaker and the tulip-shaped vase of the Michelsberg culture is striking. Professor Tompa informs me that the *scrota* of rams are

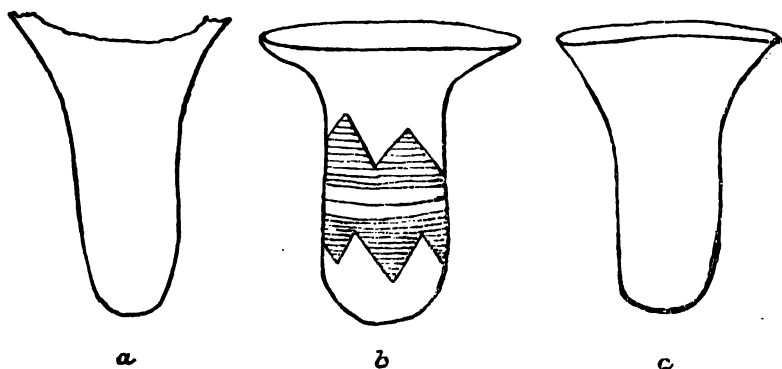
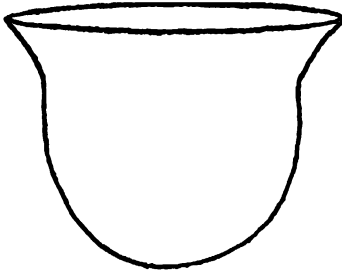


FIG. 2. a) HUNGARIAN TOBACCO-POUCH, b) TASIAN AND c) MICHELBERG BEAKERS.

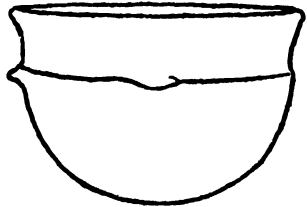
also used for the same purpose and I have heard that this was formerly the case in Belgium. The latter occurrence is extremely interesting, since the pots found at Boitsfort-Étang in Brabant<sup>1</sup> appear to be of this form, while some

<sup>1</sup> Jaques, V. *Deux stations néolithiques du Brabant ; Boitsfort et Genval*. Mem. Soc. d'anthrop. Brux. XVIII (Bruxelles, 1899) mem. ii; Loë, Baron de & Rahir, E. *Ottenbourg et Boitsfort ; deux stations néolithiques du Brabant avec nécropole d'incinération*. Bull. Soc. d'anthrop. Brux. XXXIX (Bruxelles, 1924) 142-166.

from Whitehawk Hill and other causeway camps on the eastern end of the Sussex Downs are very similar, as are others from sites in the east of England.



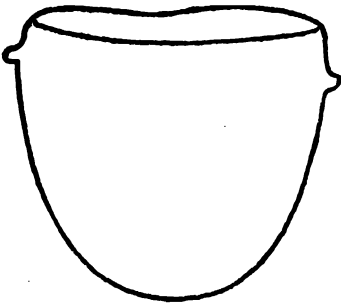
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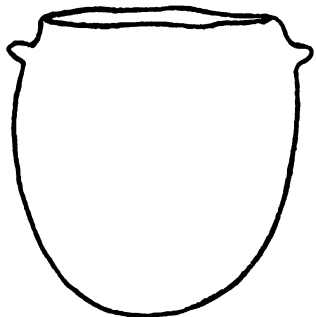
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FIG. 3. BOWLS FROM a) BOITSFORT-ÉTANG AND  
b) WHITEHAWK HILL.

Many of the pots found in Spain and France, in Western Switzerland and on the chalk downs of England appear to resemble the *scrota* of bulls, doubtless of the wild *Bos primigenius*. It seems likely, too, that some were made in imitation of other parts of the bodies of animals,



A



B

FIG. 4. BOWLS FROM a) THE TRUNDLE AND b) WINDMILL HILL.

such as cows' udders and pigs' bladders, for the latter are still used for tobacco-pouches in Hungary, so Tompa tells me, and I am informed by Menghin that the same is true of Tyrol.

Schuchhardt's suggestion as to the origin of carinated vases appears to me to be improbable and to imply too advanced a technique. Lucas informs me that if the lower part of the *scrotum* were filled with hot sand it would dry hard. The upper part, not so treated, would remain soft, and, when carried suspended by strings, would cave in to some extent, thus producing the shape familiar in carinated vessels. I have not yet had an opportunity of testing this hypothesis, but I recommend it to my readers as an experiment.

As the foregoing pages will show, I am at present only at the beginning of my inquiries, which I hope may lead to profitable results. In the meantime I would beg my Indian colleagues to inquire into the use of *scrota* among primitive tribes, and even among people who are far past the primitive stage, since they have been used until recently in Belgium and are still to be found in Hungary. The ethnographic museums of Europe contain singularly little of this nature, nor have I found more than the scantiest reference to these objects in such ethnographic works as I have consulted. Since the most primitive men are in need of receptacles, and since here are to be found ready-made bags, one would imagine that their use was very general and their survival as pouches or purses much commoner than has hitherto been suspected.

Since writing the above, I have received a letter from my friend, Mr. G. H. Tucker, who has spent many

years in Northern Nigeria. He writes : " Yes, I have seen those bags. They are used by the *Munshi* tribe; they use the goat's *scrotum*. It is turned inside out and dried in the sun, turned back again and oiled to make it pliable. A hollow reed is then inserted, tied and a wooden plug used as a stopper. It is used for red earth, with which the women are elaborately tattooed on the navel, the raised parts of which are greased and then powdered.

" The *Fulani* tribe, a cattle people, also use them, but they use the bull's *scrotum* as a purse, a hold-all and as a small water-carrier.

" It was a practice of a widow to carry the *scrotum* of her deceased husband as a purse in the bad old days."

## PEBBLED MOUNDS.

By G. E. L. CARTER, ESQR., B.A., I.C.S. (*Retd.*)

The object of this note is to draw the attention of archaeologists to the elaborate and detailed instructions contained in the Satapatha Brahmana as to the procedure to be adopted in the building of a burial mound. Increasing efforts are being made to elucidate pre-history, but attention is often paid rather to the recovery of material objects, which can be studied at leisure (often as works of art), than to the more laborious unravelling of contemporary ritual.

The Brahmana<sup>1</sup> presumes that the corpse of the deceased has been cremated and the fragmentary ashes collected in a jar. The final resting place should be made not too soon after death (that sin may be obscured), and in uneven (1.3.5.) years and in autumn. It must be four-cornered<sup>2</sup>, though Asuras, Easterns and others make them round. It should be on ground inclining to the north and not to the south, even with a "counter-cutting"<sup>3</sup>, though it may be on level ground, where the waters flow from south-east to north-west. It should be in a pleasant spot open to the sun, away from the village, on barren soil (which holds roots but not reeds and other specified plants). It must not be large<sup>4</sup>, but just of a man's size.

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1 Satapatha Brahmana, XIII.8.1.1. sqq. at page 431 sqq. of Vol. XLIV of the Sacred Books of the East, Oxford, 1900; trans. by J. Eggeling.

2 Such a mound may be seen on the Yendarhom karewa, Kashmir.

3 A word coined by the translator for *pratyarsha* but inexplicable. See however below, on the semi-lunate mounds.

4 Cf. Arrian. *Indica* c. 10: "The Indians allow no monuments to be reared in honour of the deceased." Strabo. XV. c. 40: "Their funerals and tiny tombs are of very little expense."

Some bank up the mound after covering the site, though the Asuras and others make their mounds to be separated from the earth as if on a basin or some such thing. The site is enclosed with stones and swept. It is marked out by four furrows and ploughed and sown with herbs.

The bones are poured out and thirteen unmarked bricks are laid down in a pattern symbolical of a bird-man. Earth is then brought to complete the mound. Barley is sown, milk and water poured into some furrows, and three stones each are thrown into other furrows by the mourners, who then bathe and return to the village. This in brief is the ritual for one who has built a fire-altar. For others the use of bricks is forbidden. Some say that for a man, who has set up a sacrificial fire, pebbles may be used instead of bricks.<sup>1</sup>

Finally a clod of earth, midway between the grave and the village, was deposited as a bulwark, a boundary between the Fathers and the living.

It is impossible to summarise here the procedure followed in building the sacred Fire-Altar, of which the burial mound was but a model. One must refer, however, in addition to the construction of the altar in layers, to the remarkable ritualistic use of a "variegated stone". This stone was set up when the altar was completed, as preliminary to the installation of the Sacred Fire.<sup>2</sup>

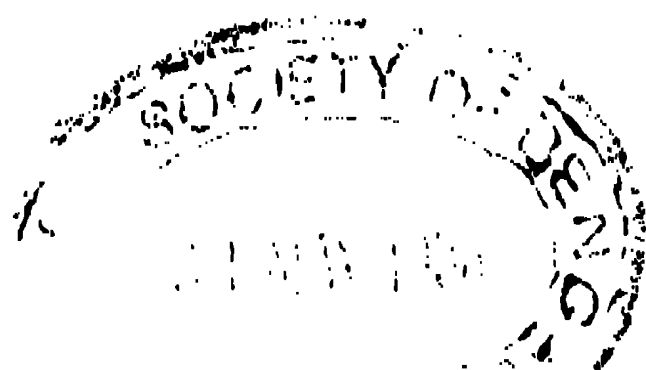
"The variegated stone doubtless is yonder sun....

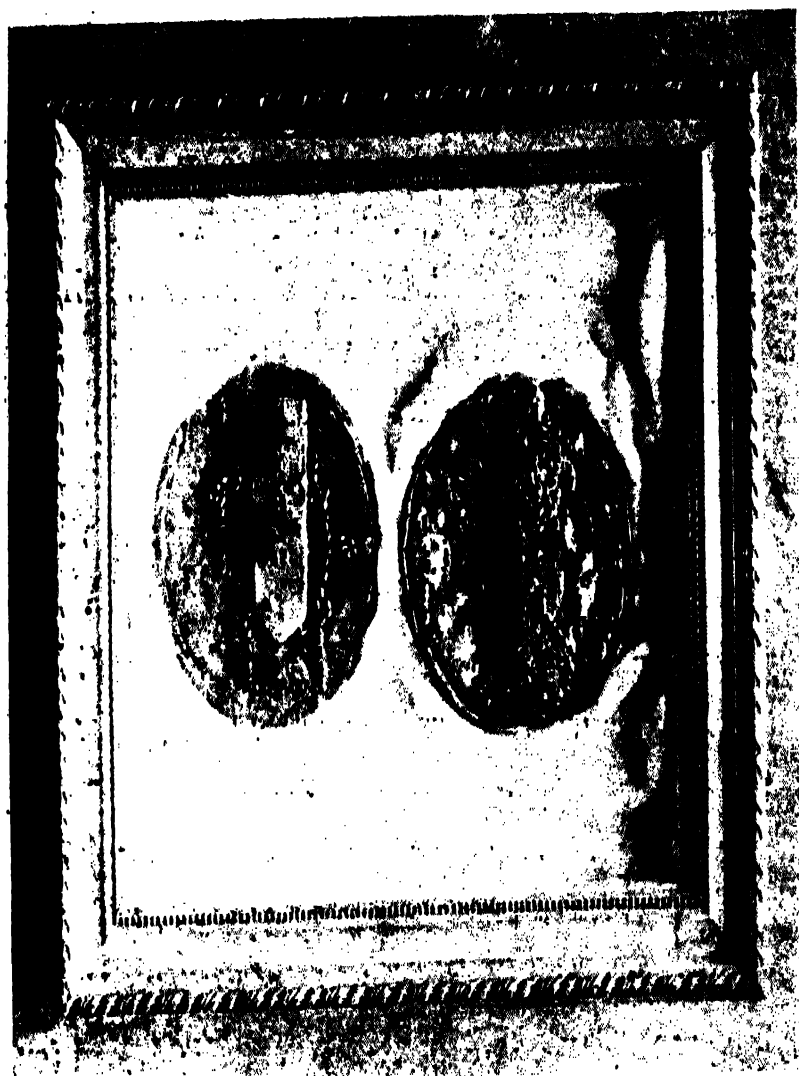
It is variegated, for by means of its rays that

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1 Pebbles were used in the construction of the sacrificial fire, *agnyadhaya*, as symbolical pegs on the edge of the "resting-place" of the fire to fasten it down, to keep it steady and thereby to exclude enemies from participation. (S.B. II.1.1.14.)

2 S.B. IX. 2.3.14-19.





Model of semi-lunate burial mound showing (*left*) middle layer set for mock crematory rites, and (*right*) the completed mound and pit with pebble paving.



disk is variegated....This stone is the breath, he thus puts breath into the body; and it is the vital power,—he thus puts vital power into the body; it is food, for it is vital power....It is a stone, for a stone is firm....it is variegated, for food is variegated. He does not "settle the stone, for unsettled is that (sun)....Having deposited it in such a way that it is not lost....

The sacrificer renders the variegated stone the ninth element of the *agnidhriya* hearth,<sup>1</sup> which is prepared as part of the preparatory rites of the Soma sacrifice, the prime eight being bricks and the tenth the fire itself.

## II

The question may well be asked now as to the value of these references to archaeology in general. One must answer specifically that in Devon and the West of England there is a very large number of mounds of a category hitherto unreported,<sup>2</sup> in which the construction by levels and the use of coloured pebbles form elements of striking importance. On Woodbury Common such mounds are very numerous and fall into two main classes :—

- (1) Mounds completely round, which have been found by excavation to be land-marks of various kinds,
- (2) Mounds semi-lunate in plan, which have adjoining them, to complete the circle, a shallow pit,—burial mounds.

No mound is large; the average size is about 16 ft. in diameter and about one foot high.

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<sup>1</sup> S.B. IX.4.86.

<sup>2</sup> A report will shortly appear in the transactions of the Devon Arch. Exploration Society, where details not properly relatable here will be given.

A burial mound, excavated in its entirety,<sup>1</sup> showed that the builders first dug a shallow pit, about 16 ft. in diameter and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  ft. deep at the centre, near which a deep hole was made in the ground for a fire of purification. An oblong portion of the prepared area was marked off by a line of stones and the banked platform raised, partly within and partly without the line of enclosing stones. On this some pebbles were laid, also a wooden plate, presumably bearing the calcined bones of the deceased. Near it a post was erected,—to carry personal belongings of the deceased. Three small fires were then lit, one at the south end of the embanked altar, one beyond it at the north end and one over the wooden plate.

After the mock-cremation the mound was completed and the whole surface (*i.e.* of mound proper and adjoining pit) was covered with an elaborate pattern of pebbles.

Landmark mounds have been similarly treated in excavation. One was found to bear on its surface an outline of a great bird.<sup>2</sup>

For the age of these mounds no material evidence has yet been found, though work is proceeding. Objects recovered include manganese ore (one specimen in a mound of each class), a piece of Dartmoor granite, and occasional implements of worked flint,—all foreign to the district. In all cases selected "blue" pebbles<sup>3</sup> form an integral part of the patterns of the stones.

1 It was only in this way that I could hope to ascertain its structure and the ritual underlying it.

2 "For that (fire-altar) is indeed a heavenly bird, and great in vigour, in smoke." (S.B. IX.4.4.8.)

3 It should be stated that Woodbury Common overlies the famous Budleigh Salterton Pebble Beds. These pebbles are mainly a pale quartzite, but occasional pebbles (1:1000) are of dark or coloured igneous rock. The sub-soil conditions of such ground are exactly as postulated by the Brahmana.

On a general consideration of the facts one would date the mounds as a class as of comparatively late date with a maximum probability of about B.C. 250. In one mound, Woodbury *epsilon* of my catalogue, which differs in many respects from the ordinary landmark mound, I have found Beaker ware, a barbed and tanged arrow head, and a very fine axe-hammer of Mesolithic age, this last object having been buried in all probability as a very holy stone of unknown cultural antecedents.

Since archaeologists in general assign the date of 1750 B.C. to Beaker ware, we seem to be faced by a dilemma, which requires continued inquiry. Fortunately (just as this paper is being prepared) one can report the finding of a moated site, associated with pebbled mounds and bearing traces of the handiwork of the same people, of a general plan which indicates a connection with the *terremare* culture of northern Italy. It would seem then that we are clearly dealing with times subsequent to B.C. 1000 and with the people, who subsequently became known as Celts. On the other hand there is nothing to show that the actual cultural significance of the coloured stone did not survive even from Neolithic times.

### III

It is very clear that no amount of excavation on the older lines will be of any real use. A head-on trench directed at the heart of the mound merely ruins the available evidence. One's first consideration ought to be to work in the manner converse to that of the builders of the mounds. This must be layer by layer, from above downwards. Such a method at once reveals the superficial paving and is justified not only by results, but by the

injunctions of the Satapatha Brahmana to construct mounds by layers.

It is perhaps a personal coincidence that one is able, after years in India, to find mounds of Indo-Aryan (Asura rather than orthodox) type in the west of England. Yet it is not improbable that those, whose desire is but to collect museum specimens, have overlooked the necessity of logic in dismantling mounds.

On *a priori* grounds there is nothing wrong in anticipating that wherever the Indo-Aryan languages spread in the Old World, Indo-Aryan creeds and rituals relating to after-death ceremonies also spread, though admittedly the *race* is still a matter of scepticism among anthropologists and of quasi-religious fervour in Germany. Yet one hopes that gaps will be filled. The extensive early Iron Age cemeteries of Central Europe ought to be examined for pebbles<sup>1</sup>, and such mounds as exist in the lower Danube valley and in S. Russia.

Here one should mention that the general absence of charcoal in the mounds examined to date indicates that the fires, whether of the land-marks or of the mock-crematory rites, were smoky fires of twigs,<sup>2</sup> brushwood and grass. The smoke-walkers of Thrace (Capnobatae) are a problem to etymologists, since the name is seemingly meaningless, yet, according to Posidonius,<sup>3</sup> they were *religiosi*, holding tenets comparable with those of Zalmoxis, a disciple of Pythagoras,<sup>4</sup> and indeed with those of the Druids.

1 Among the Thracians black pebbles and white were used in divination.

2 One fragment of charcoal (by its medullary rays) showed itself as a twig of beech two years old.

3 Strabo, Geography, VII § 3.      4 *Ibid.* § 4; Herodotus, IV. 94-95.

It is not at all suggested that Aryans as a race can be traced where pebbled mounds are found. It is submitted as a working hypothesis that:—

- (a) burial mounds, which are pebbled, represent a culture as much Aryan in origin as the so-called Aryan languages, and ought to be found in the Aryanised countries of the Old World,
- (b) pebbled land-marks indicate the inter-relation of mathematics and religion in a culture superimposed on the Aryanised people. It should normally be associated with the development of Pythagoreanism and Zalmoxis would be our type as to the mode of propagation.

Historically one knows of the general manner in which Brahmanism developed in India; Druidism may well have been a similar development (out of the Greek ferment) in the British Isles. The point need not be laboured now. The real problem is in the fact of the existence of the pebbled mounds; through this Jubilee Volume, which it is hoped will circulate widely, one appeals for knowledge of this simple but hitherto unreported class of mounds.

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## THE ETHNOGRAPHICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

BY R. E. ENTHOVEN, ESQR., C.I.E., I.C.S. (*retd.*)

A recent event of interest to all students of Indian ethnography, *i.e.* the publication of volume I of the *Tribes and Castes of Mysore* by Diwan Bahadur L. K. Ananta Krishna Iyer, seems to bring to its termination the great work planned by the late Sir Herbert Risley as Census Commissioner for India in 1901. This consisted of a systematic investigation, on the lines of a questionnaire drawn up by experts, of the Tribes and Castes of eight major provinces of India, to which were added certain Indian States.

It will be recalled that so long ago as 1901 there were already available works on the Tribes and Castes of Bengal by Risley himself and of the United Provinces by Dr. Crooke, each in four volumes; and that these were reinforced not long after by Thurston's seven volumes on the Tribes and Castes of Mysore. In the case of Bombay, the distinguished compiler of the Bombay District Gazetteer, the late Sir James Campbell, had included in each District volume a very full study of the local population; so that it remained only for the writer of this article, as Superintendent of the Ethnographic Survey of Bombay, to republish these accounts on a Presidency, instead of a District, basis; and to add such additional material as had become later available in the course of supplementary enquiries. Census statistics based on the 1901 enumeration were added, and the complete work in three volumes was available by 1920. Another ex-

Census Superintendent, H. A. Rose, published in one volume an account of the Punjab population. During the war, a Central Province Indian Civilian, R. V. Russell, assisted by Rai Bahadur Hira Lal, completed an admirable study of the Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces, in four volumes. The tragic death of Russell in a submarine disaster on his way to India added one more to the deplorable tale of valuable lives lost during the Great War ; though fortunately Russell's excellent work was completed and published before his untimely end.

The lines on which these comprehensive works were drawn up being not entirely adaptable to the conditions of the North Eastern frontier tribes, it was found preferable to deal with these in the form of separate works or monographs ; and in this way we have from such experts as Hutton, Mills etc. a number of admirable studies of the Nagas, Meithis, Shans and others who offer specially interesting materials to the ethnographist owing to their fondness for head hunting and other such primitive practices. Among the Indian States, Hyderabad, Cochin and Mysore have produced works drawn up on the lines originally laid down by Risley. The first of these states was entrusted to the able hands of Syed Suraj al Hassan, with certain expert assistants. Cochin and Mysore were particularly fortunate in falling to Diwan Bahadur L. K. Ananta Krishna Iyer. After completing an interesting volume on the population of the State of Cochin, this expert was called upon to take over the materials which the late Mr. H. V. Nanjundaya had collected in Mysore before his untimely death left the work of publication to be undertaken by others. They could not have fallen into more capable hands. Commencing in 1925, Mr. Ananta Krishna Iyer

*has issued three volumes giving the tribes and castes in alphabetical order, following these up with Vol. I, which has only recently appeared. This contains a summary of the information in the preceding volumes, with a few additional caste entries. It is also furnished with short introductions written by Dr. Marret and the late Professor Sylvain Lévi, as well as an important contribution by Baron von Eickstedt. It will be seen that students are now happily in the position to benefit by the perusal of a very considerable mass of information from all parts of India, enabling them to pursue their enquiries into tribal and caste custom over a very wide area. Broadly speaking, in each case they may expect to find the name of the tribe or caste with its synonyms, the sub-divisions, both endogamous and exogamous, the birth, marriage and funeral customs, the distribution by area, the common occupation, and the traditional origin. Some authors have rather overlooked the importance of giving synonyms for each entry, thus creating a risk of confusion such as arose in 1891, in the Bombay Presidency, when the Census Report showed Chitpavan and Konkanasth Brahmans as separate castes. In these works synonyms, with cross-references, are essential. Thus, for example, a student of Southern India interested in the Washerman caste requires guiding from Agasa to Asaga and thence to Madival, or he may fail to find what he is in search of. The omission of cross-references to synonyms deprives a book of much of its value.*

It is not my purpose, in this brief notice of the Ethnographical Survey results, to attempt to give a picture of the population of India drawn from the admirable records which are now available for that purpose, owing



to Risley's insight, interest and initiative. Such a summary would far exceed the possible limits of an article of this description. It is clear, however, that the time has arrived when an effort should be made to combine these results into a work dealing with India *as a whole*. British administration and the course of history has divided India into Provinces and States ; but these are obviously not by any means co-terminous with tribe and caste limits. An abridged work on all tribes and castes which have been dealt with in the pages of the Survey, showing the distribution by Province and State, but dealing with the people in each of the largest endogamous divisions as a whole, would be of the greatest value. Is it too much to trust that one of the numerous Societies in India concerned with matters of anthropological interest should take this work in hand, and endeavour to secure both a suitable editor and the necessary financial assistance ? It is surely a task well worthy of the attention of Indian scholars, who are now more numerous, better trained in such studies, and more abundantly furnished with the necessary materials than at any previous period in history.

For such an enterprise the guidance and advice of a Risley, a Crooke, a Thurston or a Russell is unfortunately no longer available. One or two directors of the Ethnographical Survey are, however, still accessible. They would doubtless be ready to assist in such an undertaking to the best of their capacity.

There are two specially interesting features of the survey results on which I desire to make some brief comments. In the first place, it is important to note the extent to which anthropometrical observations have so far

been able to throw light on the racial origins of Indian tribes and castes; and secondly, it seems desirable to invite attention to the valuable additions to the previous evidence of the existence of an early widespread system of totemism which are furnished by a study of the more recent survey records.

To deal first with anthropometrical observations:— Much ground has been covered since Risley issued his classification of the population of India based on a series of measurements recorded for the most part by his assistant, the late Rai Bahadur B. A. Gupte and one or two others working with him. The results will be found in *The People of India*. They have unfortunately signally failed to carry conviction. Probably a want of adequate technical training in the measuring staff as combined with the very inadequate number of subjects selected for measurement in the case of each type examined were the chief causes of the unsatisfactory nature of Risley's elaborate and novel conclusions. It is not possible to accept the discovery of the Scythian invaders (who are held to be the Maratha population of the Deccan) as established either by the anthropometrical data or the general comparison of Scythian and Maratha peculiarities offered by Risley in support of his original and very striking assertions. In Vol. I of *Tribes and Castes of Bombay* (*vide* Introduction pp. XIV, XV) it is shown that Risley's classification by Cephalic and Nasal index brings the Mahar and the Brahman into such close contact that the basis of the classification must obviously remain highly suspect.

There is a certain element of truth in the generalization of this bold theorist who once committed himself to the statement that in India a man's social status varies

inversely with his nasal index; but scholars have generally condemned the results of Risley's work in this direction as being neither scientifically accurate nor in accordance with obvious facts.

Thurston, in his work on Madras, has contributed some very useful measurements for the population of that area. The results are clearly exposed in graphic form, and offer a summary of the leading types in Southern India, the value of which has not so far been questioned.

In the Census of India for 1931, Vol. I, Part III, Dr. Hutton presents a mass of anthropometrical data gathered by Dr. Guha. This certainly deserves very careful study and is still engaging the attention of experts. Unfortunately, Dr. Guha's method presents considerable difficulty to the ordinary reader, owing to its very intricate mathematical form of presentation. We are given to understand, at the beginning of Dr. Guha's report that 'racial discrimination must be based on the entire somatic constitution of peoples, especially when the data are limited to a few characters...a simple numerical measure of all the differences is therefore required to show the degree of resemblance or divergence of two races or tribes compared.'

The learned anthropologist then proceeds to give us his formula for this 'co-efficient of racial resemblance' which is as follows<sup>1</sup> :—

$$50 \times \frac{\bar{n}_s + \bar{n}^1_s}{\bar{n}_s \times \bar{n}^1_s} \times S \left\{ \frac{1}{M} \cdot \frac{n_s n^1_s}{n_s + n^1_s} \times \frac{(m_s - m^1_s)^2}{\sigma^2_s} \right\} - 1 + \frac{1}{M}$$

$$+ 50 \times \frac{\bar{n}_s + \bar{n}^1_s}{\bar{n}_s \times \bar{n}^1_s} \times .67449 \sqrt{\frac{2}{M} \left( 1 - \frac{1}{M} \right)}$$

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<sup>1</sup> See p. vii *Census of India*, 1931, Vol. I, Part III.

This is not exactly a simple formula for those who are not expert mathematicians; and is not likely to encourage observers to check the results of Dr. Guha's numerous anthropometric data.

Those who are brave enough to face this new method of presenting the results of investigation must deal with Dr. Guha's pages as best they can. It is noteworthy that he dismisses somewhat summarily the work and conclusions of a rival investigator, Professor von Eickstedt, which are published in Vol. I of *Mysore Tribes and Castes*, and which, though novel in their terminology and classification, seem to be worthy of more respectful treatment. Baron von Eickstedt, dealing in some detail with the racial invasions of India in the past, and after allotting due consideration to the effects of occupation and environment, presents the reader with an entirely new classification of the population for which he provides some anthropological data. It is contended by Professor Eickstedt that the use of the terms Aryan, Dravidian, and Kolarian by previous writers on Indian racial elements is apt to confuse the not necessarily co-extensive elements of language and race. He therefore introduces the new terms of Veddid, Melanid and Indid for his own classification, and adds certain sub-heads to each of these, *i.e.* Gondid, Malid, Kolid, etc. With certain reservations, it may be said that there seems to be very little difference between Veddid and Kolarian, Melanid and Dravidian, or Indid and Aryan, so far as the types intended to be designated by these terms, are concerned.

Veddid, according to the Professor, is a racial type found in the Ceylon Vedda, which is linked up with the Veddans of Southern India, the Bedar or Berad, and so,

of course, ultimately with the Ramoshi of the Deccan, who is easily identifiable as the Bedar by the results of recent research. The new term Indid clearly stands for the early invaders of India through the North-West passes, which have hitherto been known conveniently if not scientifically as the Aryans. Whether the Melanid or black people, who seem to suggest the Dravidians, as until recently this type was called, should really be held to be entirely distinct in origin from the Veddid is a point on which much more evidence is required than has hitherto been forthcoming. If we once eliminate the conceptions based on the distinction between the Dravidian and Kolarian languages, we find an undercurrent of suggestion that the racial types differing from the Aryan invaders are not necessarily of different origin.

It may however be frankly admitted that the results of anthropometrical observations recorded in India up to date have been on the whole disappointing. Dr. Guha has endeavoured to secure fresh light on racial origins by confining his researches to the upper and lower strata of society where racial mixture has presumably been less common than in the intermediate groups. The conclusion which many scholars are apt to arrive at, after considering the data recorded in this connection is that, on the whole, more progress is likely to be made in tracing racial origins in India from a careful comparison and examination of the contents of heads rather than by measuring their outsides. Thus, as an illustration, I would draw attention to the increasing volume of evidence which deals with the survival of a system of totemism in various parts of India. The Aryan-speaking invaders of India were not organized on any basis of animal or plant exogamous division. We should be justified in attributing to the Australasian

connection such indications as are still available of a former totem system; and the evidence of such survivals is steadily being added to. On pp. 106-111 of Vol. LXI of the *Indian Antiquary* students of this subject will find a detailed list of 226 animals, plants, fruits and other objects which exist as totems among the various divisions of the Marathas. So far as I am aware, no such complete information is available in the case of any other tribe or caste, but the records of the Ethnographical Survey do contain many valuable lists of totems selected as examples in the case of numerous divisions of the population. The Madras and Mysore records are notably rich in such references. These, however, would be of greater value for purposes of comparison, if care were taken to give the botanical equivalent in all cases of the vernacular names, usually local, recorded for trees, plants and fruits. A very cursory study yields abundant evidence of the striking similarity between widely distant parts of India, in respect to the articles and objects selected for totem worship.

Such as they are, these totems, known in the south of the peninsula as *devaks*, *balis* or *bedagus*, in many cases now merely furnish a name for a tribal or caste division without in any way necessarily regulating the intermarriage of the section to which they are attached. But again, very frequently the system is found in full vigour, in which case the following features are invariably noticeable:—

- (1) The tree, plant, fruit, animal or other object is held in special reverence by the section members.
- (2) It may not be cut, injured in any way, or used for non-religious purposes.
- (3) It attains special importance on the occasions of
  - (a) marriage
  - (b) the occupation of a new house

(c) the annual setting up of the threshing floor and the section is strictly exogamous.

It has been noted as a special significance that, generally speaking, trees held in reverence as totems are those capable of yielding either good timber, fruit or products of medicinal value. It was this aspect of totems which led the late Sir James Campbell to class them as 'marriage guardians' on the assumption that they derived their importance from their power to ward off evil influences.

More systematic investigation of this subject promises results of great value.

The object of this paper, which has necessarily only skimmed over the surface of the interesting matter with which it endeavours to deal, owing to reasons of space, is therefore to press for the undertaking, in some reasonably concise form, of a compilation dealing with the results now available in the volumes of the Ethnographical Survey. Risley's band of workers is much reduced by losses; but the advice of some who remain, if not their active assistance, is still available. The cost of such a work should not be too formidable for a country with India's history and traditions of scholarship. Short of a work of this description, valuable results could be anticipated from a compilation of all the data available in regard to the prevalence of totemistic survivals. Here, perhaps, some additional research of a supplementary nature might be needed; but the compilation, in co-ordination with the anthropometrical data now on record, should prove a safer guide to racial origin than mere measurements not so collated with primitive custom.

I trust that somewhere these suggestions may bear valuable fruit.

# THE OLDEST IMPLEMENTS OF MAN.<sup>1</sup>

BY REV. DR. W. SCHMIDT, S.V.D.

## I. INTRODUCTION.

I wish to acknowledge my great indebtedness to the "Peking Society of Natural History" for the honorable invitation to lecture at one of its assemblies because it gives me the opportunity of speaking on "The Oldest Implements of Man" at the very same place where the oldest implements of man have been preserved and recently discovered. For, the extraordinarily high importance of the *Sinanthropus Pekinensis* consists in its being twofold (and that is not always sufficiently taken into consideration), namely, it not only offers the oldest skeletal remains of man known up to now, but here also the oldest implements have been found which testify to the fact that *Sinanthropus Pekinensis* was endowed with a real human spirit. The second point is not less important than the first, in fact, it is more important. As we well remember, at first such implements were not discovered, hence at the time the wildest theories were proposed concerning the character of *Sinanthropus Pekinensis*, especially in view of his apparently close relationship to *Pithecanthropus Erectus*.

It was just at this stage of the affair that I one day met Father Teilhard du Chardin at Paris. The main subject of our conversation was the then quite recent discovery of the first skull of *Sinanthropus Pekinensis*. After we had discussed the different theories in vogue, I

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<sup>1</sup> Lecture delivered at the "Peking Society of Natural History," September 1935.



finally said to him : " The exterior appearance of this man of the oldest times may have been what it may, but if only one implement made by him is found, it will testify that in the ethnological and cultural sense of the word, he was a true *homo sapiens* ".

Some months after, I received a letter from my friend, Professor Abbé Breuil. I gathered from his letter that one day Father Teilhard du Chardin entered his room, and showing him a piece of antler he asked him : " Do you notice anything special about this piece of antler ? " Abbé Breuil took it into his hands and after subjecting it to a careful scrutiny he said : " The hand of man has been at work on this object and that with fire. " Father Teilhard recommended caution : " Please, look at it very carefully, because the piece is very important. " Abbé Breuil replied that he had nothing to add to his first decision. Then Father Teilhard broke out with the words : " That is the first implement of *Sinanthropus Pekinensis* that has been found ! "

I think this memorable conversation is worthy of being recorded here. Abbé Breuil, being one of the highest authorities on human palaeontology, was then invited to come to Peking in order to search for other implements of *Sinanthropus Pekinensis*. Abbé Breuil was still on his way to China when other implements were found, and you know how numerous and diverse objects have been gathered and are now preserved in the collections of the Geological Survey of Peking, in the Palaeontological Museum of the Jesuit Fathers at Tientsin and elsewhere. All these implements give clear testimony to the fact that the oldest human representative of whom we know anything to date was a veritable "*homo sapiens*" in

the ethnological and philosophical sense of the word.

That is the thesis (and not a mere hypothesis) of my lecture which I have arranged under two large divisions : First I will speak on human implements in general, and then on two particular implements, namely, those for producing fire and (don't be astonished at this) those for human language.

## II. HUMAN IMPLEMENTS IN GENERAL.

### 1. "*Homo primigenius*" and "*homo sapiens*".

Physical Anthropology proposed the division between the older *homo primigenius* (then called *Neanderthalensis*), and the more recent *homo sapiens* who only appeared about the time of the Aurignacian period. This division was an inheritance from the earlier materialistic period and has as its background the thesis enunciated in some way or other, which asserts that *homo primigenius* was not a full and true man but a *homo insipiens*, or at least *asapiens* in the restricted sense championed in ethnology by the sociologist Lévy-Bruhl to the effect that primitive man was as yet endowed with only prelogical, precausal and prenotional thinking. Both of these theories have been proven to be false. For every implement is a proof against them, because every implement is another testimony that the man who made it recognized the relation between cause and effect and that he for his own utility has transformed this relation into one of means and aim (purpose), and, consequently, precisely the instrument is the means to obtain the aim.

The two most valuable instruments given to man by nature are his own hands being as they are set entirely free, because his two other instruments, his feet, are used exclusively for the purposes of locomotion thus preserving

his erect stature. These two implements, human hands, are the most perfected "Werzkeuge", organs (for work) or means to work. Thus man, with his feet specialized for walking and his hands free for working, possesses in his *two* hands better instruments than the *quadrumana*, the apes with their *four* hands which are not specialized for walking or for working.

Man himself, however, has extended this great natural faculty for working of his hands by inventing and cultivating artificial instruments which are, in the final analysis, nothing else but the prolongation and the extension of his hands into the infiniteness of regions which his spirit, his reason and will may present to him. Thus, if every implement and every instrument is nothing else than the transformation of the relation of cause and effect into that of means and aim, it becomes evident at once that the numerous and diverse implements of the oldest man prove him to be a full-fledged man, for no mere beast has ever crossed this clear line of demarcation. We hear of apes in the front of a pack of animals taking up sticks, stones and pieces of fruit and using these to throw at them or strike a blow. However this has only been done to give effect to some momentary affective impulse and could not be looked upon as an appropriation of these things for some calmly premeditated purpose. Besides they never adapt nor improve these things for further use.

Thus, as ethnologists, we will never approve of this division of physical anthropology of man, into "*homo primigenius*" and "*homo sapiens*". We even go so far as to say that in setting up this division, physical

anthropology has gone further than its competency warrants, as this science embraces only corporal matters and not the *sapientia*, *i.e.*, wisdom and knowledge. The spirit of man, on the other hand, in its cultural manifestations is the proper object of ethnology as I have shown in one of my lectures given shortly before in this same room. As ethnologists, then, we see no reason whatsoever for the division *homo primigenius* and *homo sapiens*, because we find *sapientia*, wisdom, causal and rational thinking, already in the case of *homo primigenius* and that in the oldest representative : *Sinanthropus Pekinensis*. It is therefore of the highest importance for the history of human culture that implements made by *Sinanthropus Pekinensis* have been found.

## 2. *The prelithic implements of Man.*

*Sinanthropus Pekinensis*, however, has been instrumental in bringing about another highly significant advance in this history. It is to be regretted that prehistory for a long time has always spoken exclusively of lithic implements, *i.e.*, implements made of stone, and has set up the whole series of the different phases of human cultural development on this basis, thus : eolithic, paleolithic, neolithic. It has thereby given rise to an incorrect conception of the beginnings of human culture. When prehistory showed the extremely crude stone implements of the oldest times which became more refined only after thousands of years in the following prehistoric stages, it was exposed to and at times succumbed to the danger of declaring the man who made these oldest stone implements to have been an extremely low and rude being, perhaps not yet fully evolved from the stage of an animal. How-

ever, even presupposing that the oldest human implements were made of stone, their extremely crude character does not justify us to assume that the maker of them was a coarse and rude individual. To be concrete, if the most intelligent and learned professor of prehistory would himself endeavour to produce stone implements today, his first efforts would no doubt also evince a shockingly rude 'eolithic' character.

*a. The prelithic implements of bone and horn.*

However, *Sinanthropus Pekinensis* has corrected this error of modern prehistory through the many deposits of bone and horn implements which he produced alongside these extremely primitive stone implements. The very fact that these oldest implements are so manifold and diverse makes the opinion attributing such a low crude character to him untenable. Beside Prof. Breuil has discovered deposits of *Sinanthropus* where *only* bone and horn implements were used. This important discovery clearly demonstrated the existence of a *pre-lithic* period in human cultural history. This discovery at Chou-Kou-Tien gave a great impulse to undertake further researches also elsewhere. Excavations made from 1929-1933 by O. Schmidtgen and Dr. Ilse Voelcker confirmed the findings of Prof. Breuil by proving that equally *Homo Heidelbergensis* knew only bone artefacts.<sup>1</sup> And also quite recently, Sir A. S. Woodward in his presidential address held at the Congress of the British Association for the Advancement of Science in September 1935 at Norwich declared: "The

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1 Cf. F. W. Schmidt, *Ursprung der Gottesidee* VI 1935, p. 548 s. (Schmidtgen, *Jahrb. d. Nassau. Ver. f. Naturkunde* LXXX 1929, LXXXI 1931; I. Voelcker, *Centralbl. f. Min.* 1933, A bt. B; *Id. Verh. d. Naturhist. med. Ver. a. Heidelberg*, N. F. XVII 1933; *Id., Forschungen u. Fortschritte* X 1933.

most significant of all the mammalian fossils which were found near the Man of Piltdown, and obviously contemporary with the river gravel at Piltdown and with the human skull, was a piece of bone 16 inches long, which has been worked by man nearly into the shape of the blade of a cricket."<sup>1</sup>

All these finds seem to establish the opinion of Dr. Ilse Voelcker : " Die neuen Funde erhärten somit die Auffassung von Schmidtgen, dass der Knochen, nicht der Stein, das älteste Werkzeugmaterial des primitiven Menschen war."<sup>2</sup> This opinion is correct but errs in attributing the first pronouncement of it to O. Schmidtgen. Already in 1923 O. Menghin, professor of prehistory at the University of Vienna, was of the opinion that the prehistoric culture of the Drachenloch ob Vättis in the Tamina valley (Switzerland) and of the Petershöhle near Velden-Nürnberg (Germany) belonged to a paleolithic bone culture<sup>3</sup> ; he gives systematic exposition of this thesis in his great work " Weltgeschichte der Steinzeit ".<sup>4</sup> He has proven that in both these places there is evidence for the existence of primitive sacrifices offered by these ancient men to the Supreme Being, a parallel of which can be found in the sacrifices offered throughout the Arctic Cultures of to-day.<sup>5</sup>

Thus we now have a full confirmation of this extremely important fact discovered in the case of *Sinanthropus Pekinensis* that all lithic periods of prehistory were preceded by a pre-lithic period which in

1 The Peiping Chronicle, Oct. 1, 1935, p. 6.

2 Quoted by W. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 544.

3 Schmidt, l. c. III, p. 527 ss.

4 Wien 1931, p. 119 ss., 498.

5 Schmidt, l. c. III, p. 384 ss., 541 ss.

the cases of *Sinanthropus*, *Homo Heidelbergensis*, Man of Piltdown, Culture of Petershöhle and Drachenloch proved to be a bone (and horn) culture.

*b. The prelithic implements of wood and bamboo*

Sir A. S. Woodward in the presidential address just quoted says: "It was noteworthy that the fragments of the oldest fossil men hitherto discovered were all found, though widely scattered, on the periphery of the Euro-Asiatic continental area." He enumerates the following as representatives of most ancient man, some four types in all: Piltdown and Heidelberg man, *Pithecanthropus* of Java and *Sinanthropus Pekinensis*, and after a review of their skulls<sup>1</sup> he concludes: "It seems that in the beginning the human skull was much more varied than at the present day." This must have certainly been the case, because the receding forehead and the high superciliar ridges of the two Asiatic representatives stand in sharp contrast to the high forehead of the Piltdown Man which also lacks the high superciliar ridges, although as Professor Weidenreich has shown, the beginnings of a forehead are clearly to be seen on the skull of *Sinanthropus Pekinensis*.<sup>2</sup>

As a matter of fact, quite the same forehead of the Piltdown Man without superciliar ridges is to be found with regard to the heads of all Pygmy tribes which, from the ethnological point of view, belong to the oldest races of mankind. Moreover these Pygmy tribes manifest a characteristic which greatly amplifies the discovery made with

1 The Peiping Chronicle says: "These four skulls," but no skull of *Homo Heidelbergensis* is known as we only have his jawbone.

2 Fr. Weidenreich, *Sinanthropus Pekinensis* and its position in the line of Human Evolution (Peking Natural History Bulletin, Vol. 10, Part 4, June 1936, p. 282).

regard to the implements of *Sinanthropus Pekinensis*, namely, the prelithic period in human cultural development. For all these tribes are still living in a prelithic stage of culture to-day, which culture, however, is not one of bone or horn, but one of wood and bamboo. Even to our day they neither manufacture nor make use of even the rudest of stone implements, but all the implements they use are of wood or bamboo. These they work with shells and other sharp instruments which nature itself offers.<sup>1</sup> Recent scientific expeditions among the Pygmy tribes of to-day, particularly those of my pupil Father Paul Schebesta to the Pygmies of Malaya and Central Africa, have made the culture of these short-statured peoples relatively well known. Above all, it stands out clear to-day, that these prelithic peoples are not by any means ape-like as some would have them. For they are quite well prepared for the struggle of life having, as they do, a well established monogamous family, a relatively high moral standard and altruistic ethics and an astonishingly rich and living high-god religion. Beginnings of an oral literature are even to be found among them. The research for instance of Father Trilles among the Gabun Pygmies of the French Congo has found highly intelligent and poetical novel-like tales with dramatical and musical intermezzos, beautiful creation legends, nature myths and a rich treasure of riddles and proverbs, all of which stands alongside the most astounding ignorance of the manufacture of the rudest stone implements.

### 3. *The oldest implements of wood.*

If we now consider the implements themselves which these Pygmy tribes and other peoples of the same or even

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<sup>1</sup> A. R. Brown, *The Andaman Islanders*, Cambridge 1922, p. 450, W. Schmidt, *Ursprung der Gottesidee* III, p. 12 ss., 16.



older ethnological age make and use, we find them divided into two very interesting groups. On the one hand there is the stick, with developments from its crudest natural form to the different forms of staff-clubs (*Stabkeule*). The other kind of implements are the bow and arrow.

*a. The staff-clubs (Stabkeule).*

We will first occupy ourselves with the stick. It seems the most simple and primitive of implements: a twig or branch of a tree. However, the infinite number of varieties, which primitive man has created out of this simple implement, testifies to the vividness and elasticity of his mind. There are round, polygonous and flat forms, straight and curved ones, short and long, of uniform thickness, the entire length or bulging slightly at one end. Some are employed to cut, others to strike and others again to throw.<sup>1</sup> Among the last mentioned the boomerangs are to be found. Some of these boomerangs return to the one who had hurled them, thereby describing a circular movement the physical laws of which are difficult enough to compute for one skilled in higher mathematics. The bulging at the one end of the staff-clubs of these primitive men is very slight; clubs bulging thickly at one end do not belong to this primitive culture but is found in the primary matri-archal-agrarian culture and have a quite independent origin. A dissertation of Dr. Wölfel, a pupil of mine, soon to be published, will show that they are derived from the natural root-bulb at the end of trees which were rooted out by man in this agrarian culture in order to obtain new fields where the women may plant and harvest vegetable food.

The stick is also the specific and unique implement of the women in this primitive culture of which we have been

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1. Cf. W. Foy, *Australische Flachkeulen* (*Ethnologica* I 1907 pp. 245-262).

speaking. It is the 'digging' stick with which they go out every morning in order to collect vegetable food, such as nuts, acorns, edible leaves, etc., and they make use of this particular stick to dig up edible roots and other vegetable foods out of the ground.

*b. Bow and arrow.*

If the use of sticks, their development to staff-clubs by the men and from 'digging' sticks to spades by the women, seems to be quite a 'natural' thing and offers no special reason for admiration, the situation changes if we consider the invention and use of such an implement as the bow and arrow, which are to be found already among these oldest peoples. While man, when using sticks or clubs, makes use of the strength of his own arms and hands, and hence, in the last analysis, parts of his own body do the work, in the case of the bow and arrow, primitive man has discovered a new force existing outside himself in nature, namely, elasticity, whereby he is able to act at a distance.

We might assume that primitive man discovered this new force by observing the living branches and boughs of the trees in the forests where he lived. For we even find cases to-day where the Andaman Islanders and the Pygmies, as Brown<sup>1</sup> and Schebesta<sup>2</sup> had the opportunity to observe, select a particular branch of a tree and constantly bend it as it slowly grows on the tree, and when it has attained the desired curvature they cut it off and then bend it contrary to the natural curvature artificially cultivated and thus they increase the elastic tension-force of the

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1 A. R. Brown, *The Andaman Islanders*, pp. 423, 426, 430.

2 P. Schebesta, *The Bow and Arrow of the Semang* (*Man* XXVI 1926, p. 88 f.)

bow. We have here in principle already the "reflex-bow" of which we find the highly developed classical forms later among the Turks, Chinese and Japanese. Moreover the bows of the last three peoples mentioned are strengthened in their tension-force by means of elastic material strongly fastened to the bow-shaft; but also this considerable advance is to be found already among the primitive Arctic and North American peoples.

The arrows which the primitive man shoots are also highly interesting. These oldest peoples have already employed means to insure the straight direction of the flying arrow. The African Pygmies did not use feathers for this purpose but a piece of leather or a leaf was put through a slit at the dull end of the arrow. The Negritos, the Arctic and American tribes used a primitive kind of feathering, the so called "tangential" and "bridge feathering": only two feathers are employed which were fastened at both ends touching the round shaft of the arrow as the tangent touches the circumference of a circle. The Semang used feathers from which almost all the hair had been plucked and which were attached contrary to the direction of the flying arrow, so that the purpose intended could not have been to guarantee the straight flight of the arrow. When Doctor Schebesta made his expedition among them, the Semang explained this method of feathering in the following manner: an arrow thus feathered makes a sharp whistling sound during its flight which alarms the animal and causes it to stop for a moment's time just sufficient to allow the arrow to reach it and enter its body. Among the Arctic peoples a kind of whistle has been invented which is put in the wooden shaft of the arrow itself for the same purpose.

By adding the bow to the arrow, primitive man came into possession of a weapon that enabled him to cause an effect at a distance and also to make his attack concealed by leaves or some way or other at some distance from the animal, thus making it possible for him to capture the largest and wildest animals, and that all the more so after he had very early learned to empoison the arrow. And so the bow and arrow gave him a means to produce important effects at a great distance, namely, he thus procured animal food. Thus one of the first weapons of man was one that had its effect at a distance, and this weapon defying distance was gradually perfected in different ways becoming the parent of the cross-bow, which is in a straight line to develop into the first fire-arm or gun discharging missiles by means of explosives.

*c. Diffusion of staff-club and bow and arrow.*

The data on the diffusion of the two oldest weapons, stick and staff-club on the one side, and the bow and arrow on the other, are quite interesting. In this regard we may distinguish three great groups of primitive peoples: the great section of the Arctic and American primitive cultures which, when still united, lived in North-Eastern Asia; secondly, the Pygmy tribes which at that time lived South of them in South-Western China, being however separated from them; and finally, the group of which to-day only the South-Eastern Australians remain, who at that time inhabited South-Eastern China and Eastern Indo-China.

Now, in the first large section we find the staff-club together with the bow and arrow; the second group, the

Pygmies, has specialized in the bow and arrow, using them exclusively; and finally the third section, the oldest Australians, on the other hand, have specialized in using only staff-clubs. Later on, of course, some of these groups have taken over other kinds of weapons as well from younger civilizations with whom they came into contact.

The characteristic diffusion of these oldest weapons makes it quite certain that the bow and arrow belong to these oldest weapons of humanity, however, at the beginning some tribes also made use of different kinds of staff-clubs. It is a very interesting fact in this connection to note that some Indian tribes of North and South America have a bow, the shaft of which can be dismantled of its string and is in this form employable as a staff-club.<sup>1</sup>

Thus you can see how interesting these first implements of humanity really are. You will remember, however, that they were all invented and used without the help of stone implements, and were already produced in the prelithic period. We have quite the same case with regard to another invention of the highest importance for humanity, namely, the art of making fire.

### III. THE MAKING OF FIRE.

#### 1. *Mythical provenience of fire.*

The great importance attributed to the art of fire-making by primitive man himself is reflected in his myths and legends. However, we notice a very characteristic difference between the legends of these oldest peoples of

<sup>1</sup> H. Manizer, *Les Kaingangs de Sao Paulo* (Coradcs, Bugres) (proc. 23rd Internat. Congr. Americanists. New York, 1930, p. 771); G. Bolinder, *Die Indianer der tropischen Schneegebirge*. Stuttgart. 1925, p. 226 (Motiloncs).

the primitive cultures and those of the younger, primary and secondary cultures.

Whilst the latter report that in the beginning fire was zealously guarded by the gods who would not give it to man and that man was therefore forced to steal it by cunning or take from them by brutal force, the oldest, the primitive tribes relate that the Creator himself had given fire to man and instructed him in the art of making fire.<sup>1</sup> The Maidus of Central California tell how the Creator gave them uses of fire but counselled them to produce it only in their huts and not in the forest. When some of them transgressed this counsel and made a fire in the woods, the first sin was committed, and the animals, who had been tame up to that time, from then onward fled from man in terror and became wild.<sup>2</sup>

## *2. Use and methods of fire-making.*

No animal has ever produced fire or tried to do so. On the contrary, even the strongest and most ferocious among them fear fire and fly away from it. Hence one of the uses of fire is protection against wild animals, especially in the darkness of the night. Another advantage of fire is protection against chilly and cold weather, which may be necessary even in warm climates during the night, but it also helps man to enter and inhabit the colder regions of the North and South. The principal benefit of fire in those times was the more suitable preparation of food, especially the possibility of obtaining warm food. There

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1 See the characteristic differences of this kind among the Northern and the Southern Great Andamans, Schmidt, *Ursprung der Gottesidee* III, pp. 70, 108-112.

2 W. Schmidt, *Ursprung der Gottesidee*, II, pp. 129, 131 s.

is no doubt that this was the only means to preserve the health and life of man even in difficult situations.

It is true that in these primitive cultures it was not yet possible to cook and boil food because the art of pottery was not yet discovered, for pottery was only invented later on in the primary matriarchal-agrarian culture, where the female sex is responsible for this cultural advance. Baskets made of hollow bamboo were in use only among a few primitive tribes. Food was generally prepared by merely roasting it. However, an exceedingly palatable method to prepare meat came into use quite early in the form of the so-called earth oven<sup>1</sup>: the food is wrapped in leaves and laid on stones which have first been heated in a fire, and the whole of it was carefully covered up with earth and then left there for some time like that in the ground. After a time it was taken out and eaten and they said it was delicious.

All tribes and peoples of primitive culture know and make use of the art of fire-making<sup>2</sup> with the exception of only two Pygmy tribes: the Andamanese in Asia and the Bakongo on the Ituri River in Central Africa, who always carry about smouldering sticks from their last fire; but it seems that they have only forgotten how to make fire. The methods of fire-making in use in primitive tribes were: the plough drill (which consisted in rubbing a piece of wood up and down in a groove of soft timber) seems to be the oldest device of this kind; the fire whirl, which consisted in twirling a shaft of hard wood between the palms of the

1 Cf. Fr. Graebner, *Der Erdfen in der Südsee* (Anthropos, VII, 1913, pp. 801-809.)

2 Cf. W. Schmidt, *Die Stellung der Pygmäenvölker in der Entwicklung der Menschen*. Stuttgart 1910, p. 63 ss.; Id., *Ursprung der Gottesidee* III, p. 12.

hands the one end of it in a pit of softer wood ; the fire-saw, where the liana or a similar plant was pulled back and forth, saw fashion, in a slit in the wood. The striking of sparks from flint was, comparatively speaking, rarely observed among primitive peoples by ethnologists.

### 3. *Origin of fire-making.*

If we now ask ourselves how primitive man came into the possession of the art of fire-making, it seems that lightning, striking a tree and setting it on fire, probably had something to do with it. In a legend of the Gabun Pygmies of the French Congo on the origin of fire, it is related<sup>1</sup> that when the Chief man had implored the help of God in their wretched fireless situation, God gave them the "red animal", fire, and showed them how to keep it burning, and also that the lightning should always remind them of the gift of the red animal to man by God. Furthermore we may suppose that fire was engendered, sometimes, or at least the wood made to glow, through the constant friction of branches of a tree upon each other. However, it seems to have been the genius of man which grasped the idea that fire is more easily produced if, of the two sticks used to make fire, the passive one be of soft wood and the active one of hard wood, and that the ignited wood-dust and glowing chips, the direct product of the friction, must needs be blown upon and fed with dry leaves and similar materials in order to get a regular fire.

The discovery of fire-making at a period early in the history of humanity was the first step towards a means of detecting and harnessing the great forces of nature for the

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1 H. Trilles, W. Schmidt, *Ursprung der Gottesidee*, IV, p. 44 ss.



service of human interests. We have seen the benefits that accrued to primitive man from the use of fire. But, if later on, fire could be used to cook food, to obtain light, for smelting, casting and alloying metals and finally to produce steam thus giving us a motive force, the essential foundation for all these advances of man was already laid in the oldest period of human cultural history, in prelithic times. Only by the discovery of electricity an essentially new force of nature was obtained, and we know how young this knowledge is. How ridiculously short does not this last period appear, when we compare it with the tens of millennia of years in which man has had the use of fire, thanks to that marvellous discovery of fire by our primitive forefathers so many thousand years ago.

Thus we see that primitive man began in these oldest times to manifest his quite new and unique position in the world over against all its other creatures, being as he was, their lord and master and especially endowed for this position by the Creator with the new forces of logical reasoning, causal thinking and conscious final action. Indeed, the earth was given over to him not that he might take a speedy and easy possession of it, but rather that he set to work to conquer it, gradually and slowly, as is emphatically expressed at the end of the first chapter of the Bible in the words of the Creator: "Increase and multiply and fill the earth and subdue it and rule over the fishes of the sea, and the fowls of the air, and all living creatures that move upon the earth" (Gen. I, 28).

#### IV. LANGUAGE.

Uptil now we have been dealing only with implements that are used for material and economic purposes. Is

the life of primitive man spent in pursuing these ends? Does man live only to sustain his physical life? No, we are excellently informed on the life of these oldest primitive peoples that it is quite otherwise. For they have a fixed matrimonial, familiar and tribal order, a simple but relatively high standard of morals, a kind of monotheistic religion with remarkable beliefs and ethics and elaborate religious ceremonies. In my work "Der Ursprung der Gottesidee" (Origin of the idea of God) in six volumes each of some 1000 pages, I have collected all the available material on the religion and spiritual life of these oldest peoples and have discussed it from every angle. We thus become absolutely certain concerning the full human nature of primitive man in this respect that he lived a true human, mental, ethical, social and religious life. Now, man also had a special implement for directing this full life. Just as his hands, a part of his own body, were given him by the Creator so there was an instrument given him for his psychical life, an instrument to be further developed and perfected to an even higher degree: this is man's work and it began with his very existence. This instrument is none other than his own tongue, and the work accomplished by it is his human language. We are in danger of entertaining an essentially false and incomplete idea of primitive man if we do not also take into consideration this most admirable of all his implements, his organ that enables him to speak, *i.e.* to exercise his truly human faculty of speech.

### *1. Universal diffusion of language among the oldest peoples.*

The plain fact is that even those peoples which from the ethnologist's point of view are the most primitive, have

at their command fully developed human speech. Their languages include words that connote general ideas, they can express themselves in clear sentences on the subjects they deal with, group such sentences to reach a conclusion, and follow this up so as to set forth in orderly manner further groups of sentences.

In my work "Die Sprachfamilien und Sprachenkreise der Erde" (Heidelberg, 1926), I believe I have, for the first time, set forth the results now available as to their actual development. These primitive races are indeed not so fully provided with the material elements of language—vowels and consonants. They are deficient in the modified vowels *oe* and *ue* (the German *ö* and *ü*); the fricative sounds *s*, *f*, and *x* and in the distinction between *k* and *g*, *t* and *d*, and *p* and *b*. The development of numerals has not yet gone very far, because they have as yet no large number of things to enumerate. There is a dual system in personal pronouns, based on the pair of eyes, ears, and limbs, and the pair in a monogamous marriage. There is also no classing of substantives into various groups or "genders", which, after all, with their complex changes and rules of concordance, can become in many ways a hindrance to fluent and familiar talk. This is why such complications have later become more or less obsolete in highly developed languages as, for instance, in English.

But all this does not prevent these primitive languages from clearly expressing thoroughly human thoughts, feelings, and decisions and thus becoming efficient instruments for illuminating and strengthening the intellectual life and social intercourse of men. As we have already remarked, even at this stage of development we find myths and

traditional tales that in their beauty of description, their deep feeling for nature, their capacity for giving expression to great thoughts, may be regarded as the prelude to the masterpieces of the world's literature.

## 2. *Language the implement for psychical and social life.*

If language is the proper instrument for man's mental and psychical life, we know that this life is essentially a social one. It does indeed take its origin in the individual soul but it cannot be developed to any considerable degree in the solitude of individual life, but society is essentially necessary for its full development. And so on the one hand, language is the instrument that is necessary for the development of social life, while *vice versa*, language cannot develop without society. Language is the instrument to make known the inner life of the soul to other souls, to manifest its thoughts, feelings and acts of volition (which of themselves are immanent and remain hidden in the depths of the individual soul) to others and to obtain from them knowledge of their inner life. This mutual manifestation of souls in turn stimulates and fecundates the inner psychical life of both persons concerned. Furthermore the command to conquer and dominate over the earth was not given to the individual but to collective humanity as a whole ever on the increase. We have heard this at the end of the first chapter of the Bible: "Increase and multiply and fill the earth and subdue it..."

## 3. *Origin of language.*

Since language in its first origin is intimately connected with social life it is consequently a necessary and indispensable instrument. I do not think these things are better described anywhere and with such impressiveness

and finesse and delicacy than in the second chapter of the Bible. Of course I do not speak here from a confessional point of view but as an ethnologist and historian of human culture.

You remember how all the animals were conducted to the first man created by God in order that he may give them their names. That describes in a few words an experience which we might thus give with greater detail. The first man made his enchanted excursions into the surrounding nature with its marvels and beauties which were so indescribably new for him. Exclamations of surprise and admiration, also of fear and anxiety surge up within him and he must needs cry out especially when the reigning calmness of the mineral and vegetable world was suddenly disturbed by an animal endowed as it is with the faculty of locomotion, and the strangeness, the alertness or mildness of the animal awakened in him different emotions. These characteristic exclamations, which were in some way or other appropriate and corresponding to the special nature and properties of the particular animal, were nothing else than the beginning of language, the first words formulated by man.

It is characteristic that man, the future hunter of animals to obtain food, was destined to give names to the animals. The genius of a great Austrian poet, Edward Hlatky, in his poem "Weltenmorgen" (Dawn of the world) has invented the female complement to this by representing Eve, the first woman, as giving names to the flowers. When Eve gave food to the man it was vegetable food, fruits collected from the trees, as women later on procured food by collecting plants.

When Adam called out to the animals in surprise and admiration they did not understand him, in the same way as he could not understand the sounds that some of them uttered. Thus he became sadly aware that there was no possibility of internal communication between him and the animals, and that they were unable to satisfy his innermost need of sharing with another being the joyful emotions that filled his soul almost to bursting. His grief and disappointment at this moved him to seek solace in sleep and so he fell into a deep sleep not an ordinary but a visionary and dreamy sleep (Hebr. *tardēnah*), and in the vision he experiences in this sleep, out of the longing desire that filled his breast, a being was formed who could understand his language and whose language he could understand. This understanding of each other's language was so perfect that they were both able to establish the beginnings of social life between themselves. On awakening from sleep he found the being he needed and desired and with whom he could fulfil and develop the beginning of language in human society. It was only then that their bond could be not only a physical but also a mental one to form the basis for the whole human society, the true human family, or as it is said at the end of the second chapter of the Bible: "Wherefore a man shall leave father and mother and shall cleave to his wife, and they shall be two in one flesh" (Gen. II, 24).

All these events took place, that is, this entire manifestation of true human culture in material, economical, social, ethical and religious life, as we have seen, already in the first period of human existence on earth, in the age of bone and wood, in the prelithic era. The beginning of the great lithic epoch is not identical with the beginning of

human culture in general. Neither are the first crude forms of stone implements produced in this epoch the first signs of his faculty of logic and reasoning. It is not the first page in the great book of human cultural history which we read here. It is but the first page of a new chapter of this history which had already been opened previous to that. Though it is a chapter of long duration and high importance it is not the first chapter of the history. And in this new chapter *Sinanthropus Pekinensis* will have many important things to tell, highly interesting too because of what he experiences as he proceeds to extend his mastery over a new set of materials when he goes to work upon stone to fashion his implements therefrom. But there are others, more competent than myself, who can give you information on these highly interesting details. I am obliged to finish my lecture which has already grown too long, and I wish to thank you for the kind patience with which you have followed my lecture.

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## A LEAF FROM THE CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY OF ORISSA.

By SATINDRA NARAYAN ROY, ESQR., M.A., B.L.

Orissa is made up of the British districts and the states. It is a country of absorbing interest to the students of anthropology. We can still see here aboriginal races who have not lost their original characteristics by coming into contact with civilisation and modern culture. The states still provide shelter to large numbers of aboriginal and semi-aboriginal races, such as the Bhuiyas, Binjhals, Bhumijas, Gonds, Khonds, Koras, Oraons, Santals; Savars and Sudhas. Each of these primitive tribes is a study in itself and shows how man lived in the past. In the lowest rungs of Hindu society, there are a good many castes of aboriginal descent who have lost their characteristics and imbibed some of the ideas of popular Hinduism.

The tradition of political supremacy of the aboriginal races can still be noticed in various parts of Orissa. Odra, the ancient name of Orissa, is derived from the name of a tribe. In many parts of Orissa and particularly in the *pargana* of Khurda, there exists to this day a race of agriculturists or Chasas, who profess to be Hindus and are in no way different in their physical characteristics from the general population, but who are shunned by their neighbours as degraded beings and obliged to live by themselves in separate communities having their own separate Brahman priests and peculiar customs and social observances. Although Chasas in name, they are looked down upon as the lowest of the low even by the Telis and other castes,



who according to the Puranic gradation should themselves be lower. These men, like the oppressed Bhumijas of Chota Nagpur, consider themselves the real proprietors of the soil and have a clear impression that the Rajas of Orissa were mere usurpers of a country which once belonged to them. Saraladas, a mediæval Oriya poet, supports their pretension in his translation of the Mahabharat by describing Orissa as the kingdom of the Ods, Odrarastra. The prevalence of the Od race in Khurda and the prominent position which that part of the country occupies in the history of Orissa suggest the idea of its having been at one time the capital of Od dominion. But how far that dominion extended, it is impossible to determine satisfactorily.

The Savaras were known to the Indo-Aryans in the Vedic times. A tradition of Savara supremacy hangs about the district of Sahabad, in Bihar. In the days of the Mauryas, Oudh and Bihar were occupied by Aryanised tribes and Magadha was the centre of civilisation. The power and wealth of Magadha declined in the third century A.D. and when the Guptas shifted the capital of their kingdom westwards to the Doab and Malwa, a great part of Eastern India passed into the hands of the aborigines. The Cheros, a Kolarian tribe, became the rulers of Bihar. Local tradition ascribes to the Savaras the conquest of the Cheros and their expulsion from the plateau of Shahabad in the year 421 of the Salibahan era or 500 A.D. The history of at least two states of Orissa bears witness to the supremacy of the Savaras. It is said that Dhenka Savara founded the state of Dhenkanal, which was named after him. About the middle of the 17th century, Singha Bidyadhar founded the present ruling family of Dhenkanal,

after killing Dhenka Savara. The first Rajput Raja of Pal Lahara is said to have been selected by the Savaras and other tribes as their chief and legend relates that he obtained the name of Pal because he was saved during a battle by the Savaras hiding him under a heap of straw. The Zamindar of Borasambar is the aristocratic representative of the aboriginal Binjhals in the district of Sambal-pore. The present Zamindar has edited an old book named Nrisingha Mahatmya and has claimed in that book a Rajput origin for the Binjhals. It is narrated in that book that four heroic youths who were brothers possessed wonderful magical powers and married Savar-Lohar girls and became the progenitors of the Binjhals; the eldest of these brothers is said to be the propositus of the Zamindar family of Borasambar.

The Bhuiyas played an important part in the early history of Keonjhar and even now a new chief wins his way to the *gadi* through Bhuiya ceremonials, being carried as a part of the ceremonies on the back of a Bhuiya. The Zamindars of Borasambar used to instal the chiefs of Patna on their formal accession to the *gadi*. The Savaras and the Binjhals were the aboriginal inhabitants of the Patna state and the installation of the chief by their representative, the Zamindar of Borasambar, has its own tale to tell.

In the sea-board districts of Orissa as in the states to-day, the aboriginal element predominated in the remote past. The original Aryan settlers were a few in number and they could not create a wall of untouchability round the aboriginal tribes, but opened them to the slow and gradual process of assimilation by the Hindu society.

According to the Census Report of 1931 there are thirty-one depressed classes in Bihar and Orissa numbering 6,510,192 who are returned as Hindus. In the same castes there are a few persons (21,864 in all) who are returned under other denominations. The scavenging castes (Doms, Haris, Halalkhoris and Lalbegis) are under one designation or other distributed over the whole length and breadth of Orissa. Several depressed classes like the Ghusurias, Godras, Gokhas, Irikas, Kandras, Kelas, Mahurias, Manjans are confined almost entirely to Orissa or at least to the Oriya-speaking tracts including Angul, Sambalpur and the states. The Bauris number 314,979 and are found mostly in Orissa and Chota Nagpur. There is a tradition that they were a clean caste upto the time of Raja Prataprudra Deb, when they became degraded by reason of their strong attachment to Buddhism.

These depressed classes within the Hindu fold showed the greatest anxiety to improve their status in the social hierarchy by assuming names other than those by which they are commonly known during the last Census enumeration. Their general desire was to be recognised as Brahmans or Rajputs in some form or another. To give a few instances, the Babhans returned themselves as Bhumihaar Brahmans, the Barhis as Viswakarma Brahmans, the Kumars (Lohars) as Viswakarma Brahmans, the Bhats as Brahma Bhat Brahmans, the Barihs as Jadubanshi Kshatriyas, the Dosadha as Gahlot Kshatriyas.

Whatever view may be taken of the advantages or disadvantages of caste as a social institution, it is impossible to conceive of any useful discussion of the population questions in India, in which caste would not be an important element. Caste is still the foundation of the Indian

social fabric and the record of caste is still the best guide to the changes in the various social strata of the Indian society.

Hindu society has survived so long and assimilated a vast number of non-Aryans not by the power of kings or the propaganda of missionaries, but by the ideals of life of the Brahmans and the Kshatriyas. These ideals act as a suction pump to the non-Aryan tribes to draw them to the Hindu fold. Thousands of them are reforming their lives and changing their manners, customs and social institutions to be recognised first as Hindus and then as belonging either to the Brahman or Kshatriya caste, in some one or another of its far-flung ramifications. The only difficulty arises when a non-Hindu tribe happens to be beef-eating. But even in such a case, the imperceptible conversion into Hinduism does take place in course of time with the reformation in the matter of food. The Pans and the Savaras of Orissa were at one time given to the taking of beef and they have completely given up their habit under the urge of Hinduism and come to the Hindu fold. But the case is different when a degraded caste given to the habit of taking beef is converted into Mahomedanism and gains the consciousness of a higher and superior status over castes of the same standing in culture and intellect. It then becomes impervious to the influence of Hinduism and cannot be assimilated into the Hindu fold.

It often happens that a sub-section of a caste became degraded for some reason or another, while another sub-section continues to enjoy the rights and privileges of a clean caste. "In East Bengal" according to Dr. Wise, "there are two great sub-divisions of the Teli caste, the Tail Pat or Manohar Pat and the Teli, the former being the richer

and more numerous. The Tail Pat are frequently distinguished by the epithet Do-patti from having adopted the Sudra marriage custom of carrying the bride and bridegroom on stools. The Teli again are known as Ekgachhi from their planting a *champa* tree on which the bridegroom sits, while the bride is carried round him several times as is the custom with the Gandha baniks. Originally, it is said, there were no divisions, and all oilmen belonged to one caste, but in course of time, as wealth accumulated in their hands, the richer families ashamed of their ancestral occupation have adopted a new name to conceal their origin. Thus, in the districts of Central Bengal, Telis who have grown rich call themselves Tilis and affect to be of a higher lineage than the Telis, although they still retain their old family titles. Wealth and prosperity have made them give up the manufacture of oil and led them to become Amdawalas or traders buying goods wholesale and selling them retail. Some go to the length of saying that Tili is a caste wholly distinct from the Teli, but I doubt whether the process of separation has as yet gone so far as this."

In Orissa, the Telis are a more compact caste than the Telis of Bengal. There is no such caste as the Tilis of Bengal who belonged originally to the undivided Teli community but gradually became a separate caste with a distinct mark of superiority over the community from which it seceded. The Kalus or the oil pressers of Bengal have now completely separated from the parent caste and are now more an entirely separate caste than a sub-section. But the oil pressers or the Ekadasia Telis of Orissa who employ a single bullock in their mills for pressing oil have not completely separated from the great

Teli community. It is no doubt true that the Telis who are better employed look down upon the oil pressing section with a slight scorn, but the scorn that attaches to the profession of oil pressing is more on account of the poverty of the oil-pressers than on account of their inherent inferiority by reason of birth. The entire Hindu society of Orissa is organised on a more liberal basis. The high caste Brahmans are mainly concentrated in the Sasan villages of the district of Puri and the sub-division of Jajpur in the district of Cuttack and their influence has not penetrated to the masses in the same way and to the same extent as the influence of the Brahmans has penetrated to the masses of Bengal. In Orissa, the caste consciousness of the various castes has not developed to the extent it has done in Bengal.

The Census Report of 1931 says: "In the last census report it was observed that while marriages between persons belonging to different castes were still unheard of, there were signs of greater laxity in this matter as between the sub-castes of the same caste. Instances were cited of the Ahir community of Bihar, the Kayasthas and the Brahmins of Orissa. Money acts in these cases as a mighty leveller of sub-castes. If a member of a lower sub-caste acquires money, power or authority, he marries into the immediately higher sub-caste and gradually becomes amalgamated into it. Thus most of the sub-castes of the Brahman caste are gradually being amalgamated into the common genus. The Chasas of Puri district are thus trying to intermarry into and pass themselves off as members of the Khandait caste, while the Khandaits in their turn are trying to intermarry into and pass themselves off as members of the Karan

caste. This is not due to any relaxing of the rules of inter-marriage or commensality. These rules are as hard and inexorable as ever, but as social rules have lost their sanction and their binding force, people never fear or scruple to violate them whenever it suits them to do so. The man of power and pelf can shut the mouth of the caste people with gold and break the social rules with impunity. Further testimony to the power of the purse in these matters is furnished by a Deputy Collector serving in Orissa. Sagarpesa or the class of men and women born of parents not bound by wedlock are trying to be absorbed into the caste of their father; and their success or failure depends on their individual prosperity. While in the Settlement, I tried to record their caste correctly, but this led to such social antagonism and created such a row that I had to leave the question altogether to the sweet will of the parties concerned."

The Census Report of 1931 says: "The formation of the cast Savas to advance the social status of the lower castes is not a new phenomenon, but it has become very much more common during the last decade. In most cases the procedure is more or less uniform. A new name is selected for the caste, its members are adjured to adopt the sacred thread and various resolutions are passed dealing with such questions as food and drink, the abandonment of "degrading" occupations, postponement of the age of marriage, etc. The attitude of the higher castes towards these movements was at first definitely hostile. The wearing of the sacred thread for example roused no little resentment. But later on this attitude appears to have been considerably modified. By some accounts the former hostility has given place to indifference. Others hold that

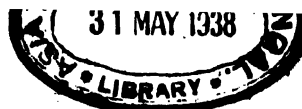
these activities are still viewed with a lachrymose eye even though they no longer provoke active opposition. One correspondent roundly declares that the Brahmans who get fees are rather encouraging them though they refuse to consider that social status is improved thereby. The principal item in the programme which is still liable to give rise to trouble is that which relates to the abandonment of *begari* or other menial work. The following accounts refer particularly to the Gauras of Cuttack and Balasore, who are striving to get themselves recognised as Yadubansi Kshatriyas but, *mutatis mutandis*, it describes what has been going on in several other districts of the province : " They have not only assumed the sacred thread but also refused to work as palanquin-bearers. Their attempt to discard this traditional occupation, resulting in much inconvenience to other communities in the mofussils of Orissa where communication by road is very rare has been resisted by these other communities. The Khandaits and Karans, who are generally the most influential and well-to-do amongst the local inhabitants and whose ideas of false prestige combined with an exaggerated notion of the purdah system has made them the worst sufferers in this respect, have led the opposition and the rivalry has ripened into actual riotry at several places in the district of Cuttack."

The pretension to assume a Brahman or Rajput origin by a lower caste is of recent origin. But the desire of a non-Aryan tribe to come into Hindu fold, to worship the Hindu gods and goddesses, to have the services of Brahman priests, and to conform to the rules of clean eating and clean living is as old as the hills and has effected a large increase in the numerical strength of the Hindus



throughout India. The aborigines have no invigorating traditions or history and no written language. They have no culture of their own. Their tribal attachments and affinities are getting less strong every day with the progress of modern ideas. The modern ideas of life and culture are so widespread that there is hardly a nook or corner of Orissa which has not been touched by them. In Orissa the followers of Christianity or Mahomedanism are very few in number. So the Hindu ideals of life, religion and society have been before the eyes of the aboriginal races for good many centuries and it is only natural that they would be captivated by them. I have already said that the Hindu society of Orissa is more catholic than the Hindu society of Bengal. Buddhism had a very strong influence in Orissa. Fahian, the Chinese traveller of the 4th century, seems not to have visited Orissa. After his peregrination in Bihar and Bengal, he started for Ceylon from Tamrilepta on the mouth of the Rupnarain, but Huen Tsang, two centuries after him, arrived at Tan-mo-li, the Tomralipti of the Hindus and the Tamalites of classical writers, modern Tamruk, at a time when the town contained a dozen Buddhist convents and ten thousand monks. It had several memorial stupas, one of which was 200 feet high and was said to have been built by Asoka. The district in which it was situated bore the same name and measured about 250 miles in circumference. He then entered Orissa (Outcha). There he saw a hundred monasteries containing nearly ten thousand monks who studied the law of the Great Translation. There were also many heretics, who frequented the temple of the Debas. The followers of the error and of the truth lived pell-mell. There were a dozen stupas built by Asoka. The recluse

ideal of Buddhism led to the excavation of rock temples throughout Orissa from the 1st century A.D. to the 10th century A.D. The rock caves of Khaṇḍgiri and Udaygiri in the district of Puri and of Lalitgiri, Udaigiri and Ratnagiri in the district of Cuttack bear witness to this day to the spread of Buddhism. Kings and emperors excavated the rock-caves and endowed lands for the maintenance of Buddhist hermits. Buddhist monks spent the rainy season in these caves and started on their travel after the cessation of the rains. The people of all classes formed the strongest attachment to Buddhism. So when Hindu society came to be reconstructed with the advent of Hindu kings like Yayati Keshari, concession had to be made as a matter of necessity to the influence of Buddhism and much of the rigidity of the rules of castes and the rules of cleanliness could not be given effect to. The preponderance of the aboriginal element in the population also led to the relaxation of the caste rules on the formation of the Hindu society after the downfall of Buddhism. This will be evident from the fact that throughout the plains of Orissa every village has a tutelary goddess called Gram Devati or Thakurani. The Gram Devati is generally established under the shade of a tree, sometimes a house is constructed for her protection from the rain and the sun, and sometimes though very rarely she has not the protection of a tree. The goddess is commonly represented by a piece of shapeless stone; surrounded by several small pieces of stones, also shapeless, representing her children. All the pieces are smeared with vermilion; carved images are also met with though very rarely. They are not uniform in their details and many of them were probably originally constructed for other purposes. Sometimes the trunk of a tree, supposed



to possess supernatural properties like the Sahara, is smeared with vermilion and worshipped as the village goddess. The most remarkable feature of the Gram Devati worship is the non-priestly castes of the men who conduct it. In the plains, the Bhandari Mali, Raul, or Bhopa is usually the priest. The aboriginals select men of their own tribes to officiate as priests. The Sudhas, Savars and Gonds call their priests Dehuri and the Khonds call them Jani. It seems hardly open to question that the worship of the malevolent spirit, through the medium of shapeless stone, is an off-shoot of the fetishism of the aborigines. It still includes, though to a restricted sense, the sacrifice of animals which is one of the most characteristic features of aboriginal worship. The offering of fowls (in some cases) which are so rigorously excluded from the houses of the upper classes of Hindus, can hardly be said to be anything other than an aboriginal practice. The relegation of the priestly function to the Sudra castes is another link in the chain of circumstances which indicate the aboriginal origin of this form of worship. While the Brahmans stood aloof, the mass of the people leavened in their ower strata by the aborigines adopted the faith which by its easy explanation of the origin of evils appealed most strongly to simple minds. The Brahmans could not however long stand against the popular current which thus set in and they eventually invented the more refined forms of worshipping the same malevolent spirit.

The comparative laxity of the caste rules and the rules of cleanliness in Orissa is also attributable to the absence of the Mussalmans in large numbers and to the fact that the Mussalman conquerors had not had the opportunity to attempt the cultural conquest of Orissa.

In Bengal, in the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries the rules of caste and the rules of cleanliness (Achar and Bichar) were rather mild. But with the growth of a large number of Mussalman converts, backed by Mussulman rulers, the Mussulman influence began to filter into the life of the people. There was no Hindu king nor even a very powerful potentate in the whole of the country to check the progress of the Mussulman influence. People, especially the rich people, imitated the Mussulmans in language, dress, and manners. The Brahmans thought that they could stop the progress of Mussulman influence and save the country from being denationalised only by devising strict laws of the Smritis for the Hindus. These laws, which seem to be now of no use whatsoever, had a great value in their days. They checked the penetration of the country by Mahomedan culture and created a barrier between the Hindus and the Mussulmans, that stopped once for all all unconscious imitation of the conquerors. In Orissa which passed under the sway of Akbar for the first time and remained under Mogul domination till 1750, when the Mahrattas conquered the country, there was no imperious necessity to counteract the cultural influence of the Mussulmans. The converts to Mahomedanism at the present day do not number more than 3.5 per cent of the entire population and most of the ancestors of the present day Mussulman families were disbanded soldiers of the defeated Pathan army, whom Todarmall, one of the greatest statesmen that India has ever produced, appeased by the grant of land so that they would not rise in reovolt against the Moguls at the slightest opportunity or suspicion. The people of Orissa were a homogeneous whole and the Hindu ideals of culture and religion were dominant. So

it was not at all necessary to devise the minute rules of conduct, regulating the life of the people in trivial details to stress their rational and religious characteristics and to mark them off from those of the Mahomedans. The rules of cleanliness (Achar and Bichar) were also slackened a good deal in Orissa after the model of its national deity, Jagannath, whose sacred cooked rice offerings can be taken by all without distinction of caste or creed. The Hindu kings as heads of the state were the highest authority in caste matters. They acted on the advice of the Brahmans and seldom disregarded their opinion in matters of caste. But as executive heads of the state, their authority was supreme and nobody could disobey their orders. They regulated and controlled the entire machinery of castes in their state, checked, modified and reformed the caste rules, removed little rubs and angularities in the working of the caste machinery and lubricated the entire system with a view to make its working smooth and efficient. They prevented oppression of one caste by another and the growth of unreasonable, arbitrary and deleterious customs and conventions. It was their royal prerogative to see that society was administered in all social matters by just and equitable rules. In Nepal and important Hindu states of India this royalty to this day administers Hindu society with the aid of the Brahmans and see to the just and proper working of the caste rules. Much of the catholicity in the social organisation of Hindu society of Orissa is attributable to the long line of powerful Hindu kings who ruled the country with an undisputed sway right till the middle of the reign of Emperor Akbar. The guiding hands of the sovereign was removed from the

Hindu society of Bengal in the very beginning of the 13th century and as a consequence much irregularities crept into the working of the social machinery which are patent even to-day. The Hindu society of Orissa remained strong, virile and plastic under its powerful Hindu kings for more than three centuries after the Pathan conquest of Bengal, and its healthy tone in the past is still apparent in its catholicity, reasonableness and flexibility in some caste matters and above all in its freedom from the rules of cleanliness (Achar and Bichar) which are almost a curse of all Hindu homes in Bengal.

The first Brahman settlers of Orissa like the first Brahman settlers of Bihar and Bengal soon lost their characteristics and become degraded in their manners and customs by the contagion of the non-Aryan tribes, who counted more than 95% of the total population. They lived not in one place, but were scattered throughout the country. They could not keep the fire of their ideal burning in the land where such ideals of culture and purity were totally unknown and the very reverse thereof held sway and dominated the life of the people. As Brahman immigrants increased in number, Hindu gods and goddesses were set up in different parts of the country and came to be worshipped by the indigenous tribes and castes. But before Hinduism was firmly established in the land, Buddhism came in with all the fervour of a new creed and leavened the ideals of Hindu religion and culture. It remained dominant for a thousand years and influenced the life of the people in the different walks of life. So when powerful Hindu kings appeared in Orissa on the downfall of Buddhism, they built beautiful Hindu temples, organised spectacular Hindu rituals on an elaborate scale

to impress the imagination of the people and established colonies of pure Brahmans in their capital towns to keep the ideals of Hindu culture and religion before their subjects. The history of these Brahman colonies is an important chapter in the cultural history of Orissa and is of great interest to the students of cultural anthropology.

The effect of the establishment of a small colony of pure Brahmans from outside Orissa at Jajpur, the capital of Jajatikeshari, on the social life of Orissa was tremendous and it operated in more ways than one. The descendants of these Brahman colonists at Jajpur claim that their ancestors came from Kanauij, the place to which the ancestors of the Bengali Brahmans also belonged according to tradition.

But the Vedic branch of the Utkal Brahmans is said to have come to Jajpur from the Deccan. The occupation of the pure Brahmans was the study of the scriptures, the performance of the various Yajnas or sacrificial performances, the worship of their household gods and goddesses and the teaching of Sanskrit in its various branches to deserving Brahman students, who lived during the period of their study with their Gurus or teachers. The produce of the lands granted to them by the king was sufficient to meet all the wants of their families and they had ample leisure to devote themselves wholeheartedly to study and the performance of the various religious rites and observances. Tradition relates that long before Yayati Keshari Brahma, the god of fire performed a sacred sacrifice at Jajpur in which ten thousand Brahmans participated. It seems that this tradition refers to Jajpur as the first settlement of the Aryan Brahmans in Orissa long before the days of Yayati Keshari, who probably selected Jajpur as his

capital because of its long association with the Brahman settlers and the religious atmosphere of the place. The Brahman settlers thought it beneath their dignity to earn their livelihood even by the profession of worshipping gods and goddesses. They devoted their whole life to culture and religion and attracted the people among whom they lived, by their truthfulness, piety, independence and devotion to religion. In one word they were the embodiment of all that was best in Hindu religion and culture and people around them tried to follow their ideals as best as they could.

The colony of the pure Brahmans at Jajpur enjoyed royal favours for generations and were consulted by kings and potentates in all matters of caste and religion. They sat at the Muktimandap Sava of Jajpur and people sought their opinion on various points on payment of small fees. Yajnas or sacrificial offerings to the fire were very costly affairs and rich men performed them through the instrumentality of these learned and pious Brahmans both for religious merit and for worldly advancement, health and prosperity. The Brahmans who performed the sacrifices and those who controlled and guided their performance were amply rewarded by the devout and religiously minded people who celebrated the rituals.

The Brahman colonists, by the high ideal of their life and culture, pushed completely into the shade the Brahmans who lived in the land before they came. Those who were engaged in the profession of worshipping gods and goddesses were slightly degraded in the social scale and came to be known as Devala Brahmans. The pure Brahmans, who obtained the name of Sasani Brahmans by reasons of their living in villages or sasans, settled on them by royal grants,



looked down upon the Devala Brahmins as of an inferior caste.

Some of the original Brahmin settlers of Orissa of undoubted Aryan extraction, had taken to the plough and cultivation either under the influence of the non-Aryan communities or of Buddhism which was the dominant religion of the land for full ten centuries. They could not come up to the ideal of the Brahmanic life and culture and were degraded to the status of the cultivating castes. Their descendants still call themselves Brahmins and use the sacred thread after performing a sort of Upanayan ceremony. They have two classes—the Haluas and the Saruas. The former drive the plough with their own hands and the latter originally followed the occupation of cultivating Saru or edible arum. Degraded Brahmins are found in almost every province of India and their degradation can be generally ascribed to their following non-priestly vocations on the eve of the reconstruction of Hindu society after the downfall of Buddhism.

Jajpur remained the cultural centre of Orissa for good many years, but the political capital was soon shifted to the south and was near about Cuttack for good many years. After the downfall of Buddhism the cult of Siva and Sakti rose in Orissa in all its glory. Jajpur was the main centre of that cult and Bhubaneswar came next in importance to it. The cult of Jagannath, which is another form of Vaisnavism, became dominant in Orissa and pushed to the shade the cult of Siva and Sakti. The Tantric worship of elaborate rituals and hard austerities was difficult to perform. The cult of Jagannath on the other hand is mainly based on the cult of Bhakti or devotion and is rather easy to practise and perform. The common people who had

not the tenacity, courage and whole-hearted devotion that the Tantric worship claimed from its devotees took readily to the cult of Jagannath and became Vaisnavs.

The shifting of the political power to the south and the rising glories of the cult of Jagannath led the Hindu Rajas of later period to establish sasan villages in the district of Puri and particularly in the pergana of Rahang. There are sixteen famous sasan villages in the pergana of Rahang, besides a number of smaller sasans. All the important sasan villages are governed by the same polity, and the principles underlying their social constitution are the same. The village polity and principles of social organisation of the sasan villages of Rahang are a wonderful survival of the old village community and have not their parallel anywhere else in Orissa. All these villages were originally given to a single Brahman of sterling merit and it was intended that the land would bear no rent. But the Brahman donees refused to take the land rent free in perpetuity and so it was settled between the donor and the donees that a quit rent called Tanki rent should be paid by the latter to the former. The donee did not think it advisable to live alone in the village with his family so he brought his Brahman friends and neighbours and apportioned to them lands for their maintenance. The donee and his friends who settled in the village were jointly and severally responsible for the quit rent payable to the Rajas. A portion of the cultivable lands was set apart and settled on families of barber, washerman, carpenter, oilman, sweetmeat vendor and others who did services to the villagers. In lieu of lands they rendered services to the Brahmans and their descendants are doing the same even to-day. Since the foundation of the village many transfers of land

to strangers have taken place, but none of the transferees have been mutated on the landlords' sherista and the entire body of villagers are responsible for the rent both jointly and severally. The houses stand in rows on both sides of a road generally running east to west. There are two temples one of Sakti and the other of Siva or Visnu at the two ends of the road. There is a Jora or artificial water channel running the entire length of the village a little distant from each row of houses. The ladies had very little occasion to come to the road in front of the two rows of houses. They could go round the village along the narrow path, bordering the Jora.

The sasan villages of Orissa were at one time the real glory of the land. The Brahmans of these villages were all well-versed in Sanskrit and some of them were profound scholars in more than one branches of learning. They had ample leisure and they utilised it in the study of literature and sciences that were known in those days. The Brahman boys of the village learnt Sanskrit from these renowned Pandits and became Pandits in due course. Every house was a school and the entire village was a university on the purest oriental model. The subjects taught in the village university had very wide range. Literature, poetry, rhetoric, Naya or logic, grammar, astronomy, astrology, science of religion (the tantras), mathematics, smritis, and medicines for men and beasts were some of the subjects in which the Brahman Pandits of the old school were proficient and they taught them to their pupils, who were all invariably Brahmans, in their own homes. The descendants of these Pandits have now left the profession of learning for its own sake and are eking out a miserable existence by following the profession of clerks and minis-

terial officers. But the wealth of learning that was so assiduously stored in the sasan villages by the Pandits of the old school is still there in the shape of cartloads of palm-leaf manuscripts which have not been classified or printed up to the present day. They are all in the Sanskrit language but written in Oriya characters. Only a few of the manuscripts are in the Oriya language. The Pandits were all Sanskritists and they really considered Devanagri or Sanskrit to be the language of the gods—the language in which the sacred scriptures of the country have been written. They looked upon the vernacular with contempt and derision. There were in Oriya in those days only a few books of merit and abiding interest.

The Pandits by their contempt and dislike for the Oriya language were precluded from writing books in Oriya. They learnt a little of the vernacular in village school under a pedagogue and then made a straight plunge into Sanskrit literature. Sanskrit was then the medium of expression of the best minds of India and the Pandits who lived all their lives in the obscure sasan villages of Orissa were in touch with the scholars of every part of India and consequently their intellectual outlook was broad and large and free from the narrowness of parochial considerations. Female education was a taboo in those days in the sasan villages of Orissa and the wives of eminent Pandits were thoroughly illiterate and had not even the capacity to read and write the vernacular. The Pandits looked upon their wives as Sudranis or belonging to the Sudra caste, who were debarred from reading the scriptures or reciting the sacred Vedic mantras. The illiteracy of the woman-folk of the sasan villages had probably an influence on their progenies and dulled the keen

thirst for knowledge for its own sake, which the original Brahman settlers possessed as their most valued characteristic.

The village god or the goddess was the common property of all the Brahman settlers of the village. Their descendants to this day manage the Sava puja or worship of the idols by turns. The Durga puja festival in the month of Aswin (September-October) is managed by the families of the original settlers and the offerings to the deity are equally divided among them. The properties dedicated to the village idols belong to the entire Brahman community, that is, to the families of the original Brahman settlers.

The Pandits of the sasan villages used to get considerable extra income by sitting as members of the Muktimandap Sava of Jagannath at Puri, and people from far and near consulted them and had their opinion on disputed matters on payment of fees. The total collections made during the month at the Muktimandap Sava was distributed equally among the Brahman families of the sixteen sasan villages of the Rahang pergana as none but a Brahman of these villages had the right to sit in the hall of the Muktimandap and to give opinion on the disputed points referred to the learned assembly by laymen. The Rajas used to reward the learned Pandits of the sasan villages very handsomely on all occasions in which rewards have been prescribed by the Sastras. They were also lovers of scholarship and learning and freely rewarded the Pandits for their erudition and deep study.

The cult of Jagannath occupies a large space in the cultural anthropology of Orissa. He is only a stump of

wood provided with short hands without palms. Two similar figures of Balabhadra and Subhadra are worshipped with him on the same bedi or platform. The earliest Oriya books speak of Jagannath as Buddha-rupa, then we find him described as Buddha, Avatar of Visnu, and finally from the 16th century onwards he is described as Visnu pure and simple. The description of Jagannath as Buddha-rupa or Buddha-avatar of Visnu is based on the traditional description of Buddha as the ninth avatar of Visnu, and does not lead us to draw an inference about the Buddhistic origin of the shrine. The daily worship of Jagannath is conducted according to the rules of the Tantras. There are many Sakti images in the compound, e.g. Bimla, Bhubaneswari or Sattabhama, Bhadrakali, Chandi, Mahalakshmi, Annapurna and Sarbainangala. These deities are as old as Jagannath himself. If Jagannath was by origin a purely Vaisnavite shrine, the presence of Bimla in the compound of the temple cannot be explained in any way. There is an old tradition that Jagannath is a form of Bhadrakali, an image of Sakti and Balabhadra or Balaram is his Vairaba or Siba. This is borne out to some extent by the fact that the image of Jagannath is said to contain the priceless relic which each and every one of the recognised Sakti shrines in the fifty-two pitha sthans or holy places in India is also said to contain. According to tradition when Siva began his frantic dance with the dead body of Sakti on his shoulders and the world trembled under his feet, Bisnu cut up the dead body into fifty-two pieces with his discus which fell in different places of India forming the famous Sakti shrines. A bedi or raised platform with a stump-like figure of stone or wood is the characteristic of all the famous Sakti

shrines of India and the figure of Jagannath on his Ratna-bedi is only a magnified form of what is worshipped in every pitha sthans. It seems that Jagannath was a Sakti shrine when Sankaracharya visited Puri and founded a Math which still belongs to the line of his disciples. Then Ramanuj, the famous Vaisnavite reformer, came to Puri and had a very great influence with the then ruling king of Orissa. It was mainly through his influence that the shrine of Jagannath took a veneer of Vaisnavism. Chaitanya, the saint of Nadia, came to Puri and saw the Jagannath the image of child-Krishna of Brindaban. He not only confirmed what Ramanuj had said and done but added a strong plank to the popular belief that Jagannath was a form of Visnu. He was a great man and people implicitly believed what he said.

Tantric scholars are uniformly of opinion that the rules of castes are suspended within the circle of Tantric devotion. The temple of Jagannath with its compound walls on all sides were at one time considered to be a devotional circle of the Tantric worshippers, so the rules of castes were suspended at this place and the cooked rice offerings to the deity were partaken by the devotees without any restrictions. The usage continued when the shrine came under Vaisnavite influence. The sanctity of the cooked rice offerings of Jagannath increased with time and by the sixteenth century people of all castes came to partake of them without any caste restriction in the town of Puri and even in distant places where they were carried with great reverence. The car festival of Puri is peculiar to the place and is not to be seen in other Sakti shrines of India. But the car festival is observed in the temples of both Siva and Vishnu in the Deccan. The car festival of

Puri shows the influence of southern India which contributed some of the reigning dynasties of Orissa, and by itself it does not prove that Jagannath was originally a Vaisnavite shrine.

Those who devised the supreme symbolism of Jagannath are entitled to great credit. They found a form or image that transcends all forms and images of worship. The Vedantists, who do not attach any importance to the forms and names of deities, see in the shapeless shape of Jagannath a symbolism of Brahma, the supreme being who permeates the Universe and is present everywhere. Devotees of various creeds and persuasions see in the image of Jagannath their respective Istadevata or the deity whom they worship before all other deities. Thus a worshipper of Ganesha sees in Jagannath the image of Ganesha, a worshipper of Siva sees him as Siva and a worshipper of Sakti sees him as an image of Sakti. The image of a deity which a man meditates night and day with all the warmth of his religious fervour becomes a part of his being, as it were, and by auto-suggestion it transfers itself on the formless form of Jagannath and makes it conform to the inner liking of the devotee.

The cultural contribution of Orissa in archaeology, music and religion is a vast field for study and research by earnest and devoted scholars. This paper only gives a few scattered hints on the subject and attempts to raise in the minds of the readers the shadow of a sense, that there are behind the ordinary work-a-day life of the people of Orissa, much of historical and anthropological interest that will repay the research of scholars.



# **SOME ASPECTS OF THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF THE BHOKSAS AND THARUS OF NAINITAL TARAI.**

**BY DR. D. N. MAJUMDAR, M.A., P.R.S. (CAL.), PH.D. (CANTAB).**

The Bhoksas and Tharus are the most important primitive social groups in the Tarai which extends across the length of the Himalayas, bordering the densely populated plains in the south. The Bhoksas are found dovetailed between the Tharus in the Tarai and Bhabar from Nainital Pilibhit district border extending westwards across the north of Bijnor district and the south of Garhwal to the Ganges. The Tharus number 20,753 in the Nainital district while the Bhoksas are somewhere near 6,600. The percentage of increase in the number of Tharus and Bhoksas during the last 50 years has been nearly 35, so that the tribes are progressing in numerical strength and their cultural contacts with the Hindu castes have not proved disastrous. The Bhoksas are all found in the U.P., while the Tharus are met in other parts of India. For example, the total Tharu population in India in 1931 is 72,214 but the total number of Tharus in the U.P. is 31,583.

There is little doubt that the Tharus and the Bhoksas belong to the same ethnic stock and it is perhaps true that both of these groups had come to the Tarai at the same time. The little difference in their culture should be attributed to the process of tribal transformation which must have taken place in their present habitat and it may

be possible that one group joined the ranks of Hinduism earlier than the other. The stories about their origin, the traditions the people still remember, do not give any clue to their identity or difference. Crooke says about the Bhoksas, "Their traditions are vague. Some say that they came from Dakshin or the south, others from Delhi, others, that they were Panwar Rajputs and under Udayjit came to live at Bombassa on the Sarda." Udayjit rendered valuable services to the Raja of Kumaon who gave them shelter. The Tharus also claim descent from the Rajputs and hold that Chittore was their place of origin and their ancestors were Jaimal and Putta of historic fame. Tradition also says that they were driven out of Chittore by the Mahomedans so that they had to secure shelter in such inaccessible regions as the Tarai which is notorious for the depredations of wild beasts and the scourge of the jungle fever.

Other traditions have been recorded by Crooke and recently in a pamphlet published by the reformist section of the Tharus, *viz.* 'Tharu Jatika Bibaran' or the account of the Tharus. Most, if not all, of these accounts refer to the connection with the Rajputs of northern India who have been the traditional progenitors of most of the Hinduised sections of the primitive substratum of population in India. Risley has described the various processes of tribal transformation and has shown how in all these processes the historical element has been supplied by the Rajput families of northern India, who were believed to wander about and take shelter in inaccessible and even inhospitable regions to escape the lot of serfs and slaves in their native land, as the Mahomedans began to reduce one after another the independent Rajput principalities of Central India.

One account traces the Tharus from mixed marriages between the Rajput women who fled with the servants of the palace, after the warriors were killed in the war by the Mahomedan armies. This tradition is explained by the Tharus by the fact that the women among them possess certain privileges which are denied to women of other tribes and castes in the neighbourhood. But these may be survivals of a matriarchal form of social organisation as most of the privileges detailed below tend to indicate. The Tharu women do not allow their husbands to touch food or enter the kitchen. They do not allow the men to touch the water jars wherein water for drinking is stored. The Tharu women never salute the men who may stand to them in superior relation, they only bow but never touch the feet of their superiors. The Tharu women go out for making purchases while their husbands carry them home. The Tharu women are expert painters and their paintings consist of pictures and scenes depicting fights and warriors on horse-back. In the Census Report of U.P. further peculiarities of the Tharu women are recorded. When the Indian women proceed to the fields very early in the morning, have a meal at mid-day and work till the evening, the Tharu women go to their fields after a good meal corresponding to English breakfast. At mid-day they eat some grain and then return home in time to prepare the evening meal for their menfolk. They thus work two to three hours less than women of other tribes and castes. Again, Tharu women unlike other women, do not carry paddy seedlings to the fields where they have to be transplanted. The seedlings have to be carried by men. Other women carry them on their head thus saving the expense of a labourer or two. Indian Zemindars did their utmost to

change these conditions, but rather than change their mode of life they chose to leave the fields altogether. The result was a migration of the Tharus to Nepal and other parts where they live by agriculture, or by engaging themselves as labourers.

The admitted superiority of women has made it possible for them to wield great authority in social and domestic spheres ; and even in the activities of an economic order, the women have assumed the role of leadership. Occupations which are tabooed to women among other tribes are done with consummate skill by Tharu women and even hunting, fishing and bird-catching are shared by them.

The physical powers and habitual attitudes of the Tharus and Bhoksas exhibit their capacity for sustained work, untiring endurance and strenuous efforts.\* The women appear to be rather delicate in constitution, yet they are very brave and help the men in the chase which is still an important occupation with the Tharus and Bhoksas. They have become practically immune from malarial fever, which is the most dreaded disease in the Tarai and claim innumerable victims from among the floating population of the area and also among other people that have made Tarai their home of choice. The knowledge of certain indigenous herbs and the practice of certain dietetic rules, such as fasting regularly for a couple of days or more when the disease appears and the necessary rites and sacrifices that are respectfully offered to the disease goddess, make it absolutely certain that the Bhoksas and the Tharus can

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\* A monograph on the Tharus of Nainital Tarai has been written by Mr. H. D. Pradhan, a student of the Department of Economics and Sociology of Lucknow University, and is expected to be published soon. A detailed account of the social and economic organisation of the tribe is given therein.

withstand the effect of the disease much better than any other people who live in the same locality. The generous use of turmeric, onion and garlic in their daily food may help them in this direction, but their vitality is certainly an important factor in their capacity to resist the infection or its usual course.

The contacts the Tharus and Bhoksas have with those tribes and castes that fringe them, has introduced innumerable changes in their social life. The gradual and insensible transformation of the people into the ranks of Hinduism has solved the problem of adaptation, as many of the traits borrowed from the Hindus have not evoked any protest from the tribal authority, vested in the village panchayet. Though in some cases changes have come very abruptly yet their assimilation has been smooth and has caused little bitterness in the village polity. The influences still exerted in their social and economic life are many and varied and the processes of adaptation and disintegration are going hand in hand without jeopardising social harmony or communal concord. The state officers, the Nepali and other Kumaon people, the itinerant vendors of foreign merchandise, the Baniya and other trades people are all contributing their quota to this cultural miscegenation but the most important influence is being exerted through the numerous fairs which are held in the Nainital Tarai from time to time. It is in these fairs that the Tharus and Bhoksas find a constant source of cultural diffusion which has influenced their life and conduct and have taught them to adopt new mode of life and to incorporate in their social life new practices and progressive ideas and images so that the task of cultural adaptation has become extremely simple. The fairs at Gadarpur, Alapur,

Rudrapur, Kilpuri, Sisai, Sittarganj, Nanakmata, to name only a few, attract thousands of Tharus and Bhoksas and afford opportunities for cultural association which no doubt exercise tremendous influence on the lives of the tribal people. Most of these fairs are in honour of Hindu gods and goddesses, so that the splendour and extent of the fairs, and the respect and reverence displayed by the pilgrims who flock from all parts of India impress on their simple life, the importance of these divine personalities and they gradually tend towards Hinduism. The fairs at Gadarpur, Rudrapur, Chakrapur are held in honour of Mahadeo, the consort of Kalika, goddess of destruction, the fair at Kicha is supposed to be held in honour of Sri Krishna, those at Alapur and Sittarganj in honour of Ramchandra, the mythical hero of Ayodhya. Most of these fairs are in connection with Hindu festivals, such as Ramlila, Shivaratri, Janmastami, and Dewali, so that the cultural value of these fairs from the Hindu standpoint is immense. The cycle of these fairs start in Phagun and ends in Kuar though the fair at Sisai is held in Magh. Thus throughout the year after every period of strenuous activities as is required for fishing and agriculture, the Tharus and Bhoksas get opportunity to indulge in healthy recreation such as is afforded by these village fairs. They assemble with their agricultural produce, sell or barter them for money or other produce they may require, meet people of all types and races, see and enjoy the various fairs and entertainments and come back to the village better fitted to make life more worth living. Thus we find the Bhoksas and Tharus of to-day more intelligent, better informed, better cared for and comparing favourably with the cultivators of the plains.

In spite of these adjustments there has not been much disintegration in the fundamental attitudes of the people. There still exist quaint and grotesque traits of culture, traits which perhaps fulfilled certain special functions in the community life of the people, but which have been useless for long yet have not been abandoned by the tribe. A close intimacy with the genius of the tribal culture will explain why abnormal attitudes viewed from the standpoint of our culture have been perpetuated and how they still claim their votaries even among the informed section of the tribal society. Certain rites and practices among the Tharus and Bhoksas that were considered effective in the hunting stage of their economic life are adhered to in the agricultural stage as well, on the ground that the success in hunting has the same significance to tribal life as success in agriculture and what contributed to success in one must necessarily do so in the other, as both are meant to effect control over the means of production. There are certain customs which have no meaning or purpose, yet they are important traits of their culture. These have survived and are expected to survive. It is not necessary that every custom must have a clear meaning and purpose. Lack of meaning of usages, as Dr. R. R. Marett says, may be the result of an existing mental condition namely one of an unintegrated or imperfectly rational type. Besides survival of certain rites and customs among the Tharus and Bhoksas may be traced to a firm conviction in the excellence of their culture pattern. The Tharus believe that they are descended from the Rajputs. They have established this claim to a large extent as there are some features of Tharu culture which are absent in the culture patterns of cognate tribes. The comparative

handsome features of Tharu women are difficult to explain otherwise than by suggesting an admixture. Secondly, the Tharus have succeeded in acclimatizing themselves to the Tarai climate which has claimed heavy toll from other social groups. Thirdly, the social solidarity manifest in Tharu society has made it possible for them to derive the maximum benefits from the inhospitable environment.

#### ECONOMIC LIFE.

The Tharus and Bhoksas live mostly by agriculture. Out of 12,800 earners, male and female, among the Tharus in the Nainital district, no less than 10,717 returned cultivation as their principal source of livelihood. Elsewhere also they live by cultivation. Though agriculture is the most important method of securing subsistence and has become the pivot of their economic life, yet the whole of their life is not woven round this important economic pursuit as among most agricultural castes. Hunting and fishing are still regarded as important links between the gaps provided by agriculture from sowing to harvesting and harvesting to the next sowing season. The beliefs and rites connected with hunting and fishing receive adequate recognition and are followed with considerable unanimity by the people and the pride of being a successful hunter or a skilful fisher makes a Tharu or a Bhoksa swell with delight just as a successful agricultural season makes him eager to display his produce. Though production of food is the most important consideration to primitive social groups, the distribution of the same is hardly less to the individual producer for his interest in the production of food receives greater force by the satisfaction he derives from the display of the same as well as the manner in which it is distributed. Thus the



production of food in a community is influenced by social customs and conventions and not by the physical necessity of the group alone. The satisfaction of the economic needs does not exhaust the desire for food production in a community for there are certain customs which may be primarily social and not dictated by the economic need of reciprocity or mutuality of obligations. Hospitality as a social trait is a widespread feature of the culture of most savage groups, though its utility from the economic point of view may be questioned. The savage who produces plenty and who needs no supply from his clansmen also desires that he should be invited by his villager or clansman to a sumptuous dinner and he himself would like to do the same to his own kinsmen or his village mate. The pride of position bestowed on a host in any social group explains the interest of the group in producing more than it actually consumes, so that production of food in many primitive societies is a determinant of rank or social status. The Tharus as well as the Bhoksas consider the distribution of food to clansmen and village mates as highly desirable and in case the financial prospects are gloomy, due to loss of crops or the failure of the rains, they like many other primitive groups in India, pray for the coming harvesting season, so that they may think of their friends and kinsmen.

### THE CHASE.

The Tharus do more hunting than the Bhoksas but usually it takes the form of periodical excursions into the forest at a time when they are free from fishing or agricultural work. They do not undertake hunting expeditions with a desire to secure a plentiful harvest.

through the mysterious magical influence of a successful hunt as among the Oraons of Chota Nagpur Plateau, yet they take delight in hunting the wild animals of their native forest. Occasionally they may be seen to stalk deer or shoot birds or other games, and they may be seen with a big net (*klabēr*) going to the heart of the forest and lay it on the tracks of big animals which when entangled in it seldom escapes. They may also be seen with the 'Kurkia' or the 'Khandia' which they use for catching birds. Sometimes two or more villages join and form hunting bands which are very successful at times.

When the hunters among the Tharus bring home their game, pigs, deer, rabbits and hares in plenty, they are found to distribute the catch to all the members of the village irrespective of caste or tribe and it often happens that the hunters and their families have little left for themselves after the distribution. When the catch is brought home, before any distribution takes place, the discussion centres round the achievements of particular hunters within the band and the successful hunter feels amply compensated for his labour, when the game he has hunted receives the admiration of the spectators and his skill applauded. In some cases, it has been found that the hunters themselves do not partake of the animals they hunt or relish them, still the desire to hunt remains as strong as ever. This may be the outcome of a belief in the efficacy of the custom forbidding the hunters to partake of the flesh of the animals they hunt, so that by their abstention the species may multiply for the benefit of the group. In any case, the admiration the hunter receives from the display of his dexterity in hunting is enough impetus for his assiduous application to such pursuits.

## FISHING.

Fishing among the Tharus and Bhoksas is an important subsidiary occupation and is more important than hunting. It is in fishing that we find men, women and children of a village come out in batches fully equipped with nets and traps and run headlong into the stream and enjoy the excitement of the game. The women and men may fish together or they may be seen working in separate groups and there is hardly any fixed set of rules for fishing. The women do not carry the fishing implements nor do they carry the catch. Children often carry the receptacles for fish. Deep water fishing is done by men generally and women find it more convenient to use the 'Pakhaiya' which is most effective in slowly running water. Men use different kinds of nets such as 'patia' or 'jal' which are not usually used by women but 'dhimri', which is placed at the orifice or exit of water in a dam, so that water is allowed to pass out, the fish remain in the 'dhimri', may be used by both sexes. The damming of water by bamboos and logs of wood and poisoning the water with poisonous wild fruits and roots for catching fish in the Sarda river are slowly being given up. This mode of fishing, however, is common among all the members of the Austric race and the ingredients used for poisoning the water differ according to the variation if any in the vegetation of the locality.

## AGRICULTURE.

The Tharus and Bhoksas practise agriculture with meticulous care and considerable hardship. Methods of farming and agriculture do depend on soil, climate and the character of the people but in their efforts to eke out the maximum from the land, the Bhoksas have shown a higher

degree of adaptability, ability and husbandry than the Tharus. Both the tribes have by application and experience learnt the risks and dangers of farming and herding and they know which of these are controllable and which are not. They know the troubles of keeping watch on distant lands and usually live near their plots. They know that certain crops like rice require constant irrigation and a plentiful supply of water and the Tharus and Bhoksas do utilise their practical experience in preserving water in the fields by damming or by terracing water from distant streams or other natural or artificial sources. The important features connected with agriculture are (1) division of labour between the sexes, (2) the seasonal calendar, (3) daily routine, (4) land tenure, (5) relation of agriculture to magical and religious beliefs.

Though women among these tribes wield considerable influence and are dominant in the domestic sphere, yet a conventional division of labour between the sexes exist though there is hardly any taboo limiting the activities of the sexes. In agriculture the principle of division has assumed a traditional importance and appears to be based on the understanding of the suitability or otherwise of the work for the different units of the society. The women do weeding, harvesting, winnowing and husking, children help men in repairing ridges or dams, in tending cattle, driving bullocks over the threshing floor while ploughing, levelling and sowing are occupations for men. Some of the occupations are jointly done such as harvesting but sowing is pre-eminently a man's occupation. Weeding is a female occupation which requires careful watching and picking for which women have to stoop bending head forward constantly for hours. The work becomes

mechanical after some time but the weeders have to develop a precision and maintain the same till all the weeds are eradicated to make room for the healthy growth of the plants. This patience is more a virtue of women than of men. When weeding is done by men, in absence of women helpers, one can tell from the manner of weeding that it has not had the touch characteristic of weeding by women. Winnowing and husking also require similar patience as any carelessness would mean a loss of the anticipated yield of grain. It appears therefore that the nature of the occupations has something to do with the division of labour between the sexes. Watching of crops when they begin to ripen is usually done by men.

Scarecrows and other devices are used to drive away birds and animals. But all these do not exhaust the precautions needed to ensure a bumper crop. There are some people who are believed to be born with the evil eye and the evil mouth. If they look at a field, the field is bound to be affected. The crops will not grow or if they grow will not produce the anticipated yield. If they praise the growth of the plants that would mean the end of further growth, if they admire the sheaves of the corn, they would not develop. If they praise a cow giving milk, either the calf will die or the cow will cease to give milk. The Tharus and Bhoksas believe that there is something wrong in the constitution of these men for which they are not responsible. Yet precautions must be taken and are taken by them. The other kind of evil influence is exerted by sorcerers and witches of whose exact *modus operandi* they are not very sure. But these are very much dreaded and are counteracted by offering sacrifices and prayers at every critical stage in the progress of the crop. The 'Bhararas'

for that is the name of diviners, can only divine the causes but the source of these are difficult to trace and besides the usual offerings made by the 'Bharara' to the god presiding over crops, they enlist the services of Pahari Brahmins. The reputation of these Brahmins as priests of the caste people and the disciplined life they are known to lead, above all the ignorance of the primitive settlers about their real social and ceremonial life, contribute much to the status of these Brahmins among the tribal people. In most of the agricultural ceremonies to-day the Pahari Brahmin is indispensable and his influence is one of the important factors that account for the Hinduisation of these tribes.

The Pahari Brahmin determines an auspicious day for the first ploughing of the field. He determines the form of sacrifice and the god to whom it should be made. Before sowing he performs 'Homa' in the field and ceremonially sows a handful of seed in some part of the field where a mark is made by him. This spot is known only to the cultivator himself as this ceremony is usually done at midnight though I could not corroborate it in every village I have seen. This practice of midnight worship in the fields, and the mysterious sowing of seeds by the Pahari Brahmin, explain the manner in which alien traits may be incorporated into the cultural pattern of a tribe or social group, so that the trait may partake of the spirit of the culture in which it is introduced, without which assimilation is difficult to accomplish. The Pahari Brahmin determines also the day for harvesting and it usually falls on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays. When all these are done, the Tharus and Bhoksas believe that the evil eye and the sorcerers cannot do much harm

though there exists a tension which is not released till the year turns out successful.

### SUPPLEMENTARY OCCUPATIONS.

The important supplementary occupations of the Tharus and Bhoksas are briefly, constructing and repairing of houses, making furniture, household utensils, basketry, making of musical instruments, weapons, rope and mats, pottery manufacture and a little of carpentry.

Weaving, spinning and needlework form an interesting diversion for women, though these activities do not come in the regular routine of the Tharus and the Bhoksas to-day. There are village weavers, who supply the needs of the Tharus and the Bhoksas in this respect and they have begun to look down upon weaving as occupation. This leads us to an important question about the attitude of these people to the occupations and professions and how far this attitude is economically beneficial or not.

So long as a tribe in India does not completely merge into the ranks of Hinduism, it retains more or less its self-sufficiency so far as its economic needs are concerned and the Tharus and the Bhoksas, though they are in the process of transformation, do engage themselves in most of the occupations which are performed by different castes in the Hindu social system. The first step in the process of Hinduisation, is the introduction of Brahmin priests which both the Tharus and the Bhoksas have done. The latter engage the services of Pahari Brahmins more frequently; than the former but most of the important social and economic activities of both these peoples are initiated by the Pahari Brahmin who receives certain consideration in kind or money for advising

them of auspicious hours for the undertaking of important economic activities or performing religious and social ceremonies or festivals. The Bhoksas would require the services of the Pahari Brahmin at marriage as the sacred thread must be donned before marriage and this is put on by the priest who receives Re. 1-4-0 as fee for so doing. The incorporation of artisan castes in the indigenous economic organisation of the Tharus and Bhoksas has increased and is certainly increasing thereby introducing new patterns and diverse textures into their simple economic life. This will necessarily lead to an interdependence of economic activities and a greater specialisation perhaps, but the result of this economic experiment will depend on the manner in which the subsidiary occupations are selected and carried on. Agriculture in India has not been specialised to any appreciable extent and there is little chance of any such specialisation in the near future among the Tharus and Bhoksas. If they give up the subsidiary occupations and industries which had proved extremely useful to them simply because specialised workers can undertake them with greater advantage, the result may not be very beneficial for them. The introduction of artisan elements and the greater dependence on these in the near future, will be suicidal to the Tharus and Bhoksas, unless of course, they develop some specialised industry themselves or effect considerable improvement in the indigenous system of cultivation and develop marketing organisation which do not exist to any efficient extent among them. The same problem is found among the Hos and cognate tribes of the Chota Nagpur Plateau and it is desirable that some scheme of economic reconstruction among the tribal population should be



worked out which would assist the tribes in their cultural progress.

To take one example, pottery has been the occupation of the Tharus for a long time. The Tharu women make a number of articles which are very useful to them. Previously they used to make earthen toys such as horse, camel, warrior, agricultural implements, utensils, etc., but these have been given up mostly as the Hindu potters are available and they are doing these with greater skill and perfection. The importation of cheap toys of German and Japanese manufacture, has much to do with the gradual displacement of this industry and even the potters themselves do not think it profitable either to manufacture them. It is at the time of religious and semi-religious fairs and festivals that the potters manufacture them and their novelty and attractiveness, sometimes their uncouthness appeal to the children or their parents. The Tharus and Bhoksas, even to-day, make 'matoras' or 'bakhari' for storing grain, 'barosi' to keep fire, and earthen vessel for keeping fodder for the cattle. These are usually big things and they do not require much skill but they involve an amount of labour which if paid in cash, comes to a lot. The practice of paying in grain for articles of everyday use, which is customary among all the Austric speaking tribes in India, make it an uncomfortable transaction, for the grain demanded in exchange for the earthenwares is much in excess of their usual price in money and the potters insist on the customary procedure which they grudge to give. So the making of these kinds of earthen vessels is still an occupation of Tharus and Bhoksas. The potters manufacture all the articles required for domestic use, *viz.*, 'galla,' 'latia,'

'bhulra,' 'manua' and even 'nad,' i. e., different kinds of receptacles for water, paddy, spices, straw and fodder. In some villages, most of the pottery is done by the tribes themselves, in some, it is done by the potter caste and there are villages where the manufacture of earthenwares is partly a tribal occupation and partly that of the potters.

We have said how the Tharus and Bhoksas have shown remarkable adaptation to the land, climate and other environing conditions in the territory they occupy. They have skilfully utilised the natural resources and their group organisation for self maintenance has contributed much to their vitality and social progress. The materials for building houses are available in the village and the forests that abound in the neighbourhood, so that they are self-sufficient so far as their needs for shelter are concerned. The principal materials in the construction of shelter are wooden posts, rafters and beams, which are procured from the jungles and the grass, wattle, straw and mud are also available in the village itself. It requires only human skill and labour to build these houses. There is little architectural skill in the construction of these huts, though their shape and form are made as attractive as possible. The houses are usually rectangular and the roof conical in shape. The roofing is seldom done by tiles, always by thatch, which is projected on all sides downwards. The ordinary mud walls of the plains is replaced by those of wattle, coated with mud, so that they do not become much damp during the wet weather. The labour demanded for the construction of houses is easily obtained from the village itself so that the cost of hired labour is *nil*. But it must be mentioned in this connection that there is a season when building

and repairing of houses should be undertaken. For if a cultivator wants a house to be built during the harvesting season he cannot count on this voluntary service. It is only when the cultivators are comparatively free from outside economic pursuits that voluntary labour is available. If we look to the seasonal calendar of these people, we shall find that there are two periods when provision for building and repairing of houses and other miscellaneous work exist. In May and June, there is little work in the field and in November and December, the men are usually free as most of the work fall to the share of women and those that are done by men are extremely light. So in May and June and November and December, the Tharus and Bhoksas build their houses and repair them. In other words, once before the commencement of the south-west monsoon and once before the beginning of the north-east monsoon, the Tharus and Bhoksas get their shelters repaired and reconditioned. The main hut of the Tharus and the Bhoksas is built facing east and a second one faces south so that between them they shut out winds from the west and the north, both of which are known to be bad for health. The main hut is usually a large one, divided into apartments, so that it serves the purpose of sleeping room, dining room and lumber room, while the small one may be used as a granary which is also meant to accommodate guests of the house. The fact that the granary and the guest room are combined in one, shows perhaps the same solicitude of the people to display their wealth which we have discussed above.

The Tharus and the Bhoksas make their houses well-lighted and well-ventilated with doors and windows and the provision of large space in the courtyard where

these houses open into, and a kitchen garden to follow, reduce the possibility of congestion in the village. Every morning the women sweep the courtyard, put a coating of cowdung solution on the mud-finished walls of the huts and the house looks extremely pretty and neat. Reference has already been made of the voluntary labour that is available for the construction and repair of houses among the Tharus and the Bhoksas. It is not that a cultivator requisitions all the villagers to assist him, nor does he approach the village headman for providing him with men for the purpose, but the whole arrangement is mutual and is done without much fuss. There are some people in the village who are adept in the work of building or repairing the houses and when they are approached they come in and assist the family in need. They receive no remuneration for their labour either in cash or in kind, but the family which receives such help is anxious to reciprocate it by gifts or similar service. This ungrudging source of free labour is possible in a community where the sense of duties and obligations has developed to such an extent that the receiver understands the value of the assistance rendered and the giver realises the need, so that reciprocity and mutuality of obligations become the binding elements in their normal life. An illustration of this feeling of obligation and reciprocity would be found in the case of marriage of Tuli's daughter when all the villagers contributed substantially to the expenses without which he would have to accept money from his daughter's fiancé which is extremely dishonourable and had recently been banned by the community as a matter of social reform. Tuli is an expert house builder and he helped many families in the village sometime or other and therefore

the responsibility of the marriage of Tuli's daughter was equally shared by his co-villagers.

After the house comes the furnishing of it as an indispensable requirement of a family, whatever be the social position of the people. The usual furniture that we meet in an average house, consists of a number of beds, either made of all-wood, or of strings or Newar, one or two chairs, a few stools, mats and wooden cases or steel trunks serving as safes as well as wardrobes. This being the general paraphernalia of an average house, we cannot expect much of furniture in the house of a Tharu or Bhoksa. If agricultural implements, fishing nets and traps can be called furniture then the Tharus and the Bhoksas have their houses well stocked with these. We find, however, some wooden charpoys or stringed bedsteads, stools made of strings with wooden framework, mats and baskets. Hurricane lanterns have replaced the indigenous 'kupi' or 'dibba' to a large extent and cycles have become popular with those who have received some education in schools. In some substantial houses, we get here and there a wooden chair or two, and a cane sofa though these are all made by the people themselves. Each family possesses tools for small carpentry, with the help of which these items of furniture are locally made. Most of this work falls to the lot of men while basketry is mainly a woman's occupation. Fishing nets and traps are made by men as they are sure to lose their efficacy if made by women.

Basketry is useful as an economic occupation, though the women among these tribes make them for domestic and occasionally for ceremonial purposes as in marriage. In other parts of the country where primitive tribes do not

exist, it is done by the Doms and the Dosads who work as scavengers and are a step removed from these primitive people. The forms and designs of basketry differ according to the purpose they serve and there are different kinds of baskets which are made by the women and hung up on the sides of the walls of their huts. Hundreds of baskets are sold in 'hats' and fairs by the Tharus and the Bhoksas and the design and decoration on these baskets are extremely charming sometimes. Patterns of animals and men, of elephants, camels, warriors on horse back, and hunting scenes are very skilfully woven on them.

Girls sit by their mothers and learn the skill and technique of basket weaving and when they are married out of the village, they carry the developed technique of their village. Throughout the country of the Tharus and the Bhoksas, the same patterns are discovered. There is no patent right recognised by the Tharus so far as basketry is concerned and there is no prohibition regarding the introduction of new patterns or techniques in basketry by women who come from other villages by marriage.

I have been told that weaving of baskets is regarded by the Tharus as an indispensable qualification of Tharu women and a suitable bride is she who can display her skill in basketry by ingenuous patterns and skilful designs. The materials required for weaving baskets are usually bamboo and reed. Before they can be used for basketry, they are soaked in water and are split into small chips out of which the women make the baskets. The chips are split and polished by men, and women use them according to their needs. The direction for particular kinds of reeds or bamboo splits, is often given by women according to the design they propose to weave.

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# THE FUNCTIONAL CHARACTER OF BAIGA MYTHOLOGY.

BY VERRIER ELWIN, ESQR.

There has hitherto been no serious attempt to record the folklore and myths of the Baigas of Central India, still less to relate them functionally to the daily life of the tribe. This article will try to show how largely the myths control and vitalise the chief Baiga institutions.

The Baigas are a primitive, pre-Dravidian tribe, some thirty-seven thousand strong, who live in the wild and remote hills of Balaghat, Bilaspur and Mandla, and in the states of Rewa and Kawardha. They build their villages in the heart of the forest, often miles distant from any road, far withdrawn from the march of commerce, untouched by missionary influence. In so wild and lonely an environment, there is a possibility that their myths and legends have been preserved without too great a loss of their primitive freshness.

Certainly, myth is still an active, potent force in the Baiga's life. It does far more than explain his institutions; it is their motive-power and their authorisation. When a Baiga is summoned to control a man-eating tiger, he draws courage from the reflection that this task has been his from the beginning of the world. When he comes to perform magic to Mother Earth on behalf of the Gond cultivators, he recites the myth of the creation of the world, and reminds his hearers of the unique share the Baiga had in it. When he is overwhelmed by his own poverty, he comforts himself and his family by reminding them that to be poor and to live close to the earth was the voluntary



choice of his great ancestors, their glory and not their shame. The Driving of the Nail, the offering of sacrifice, the cutting of *bewar*,<sup>1</sup> the cure of disease, the war against witchcraft, all trace their origin to historic events which established them as part of the social order.

The only major institution which is not, so far as I have been able to ascertain, controlled by myth is the *gotra* of exogamy. But this very fact lends colour to our thesis, for the Baigas are tending to be more and more impatient of their exogamous divisions, and are in fact in a great muddle over them. The tribe is divided into scores of territorial sub-sections, but into less than a dozen real *gotras*, only a few of which are totemistic. There is much controversy within the tribe about the relations between these divisions; the question is even raised whether they are worth preserving; breaches of exogamy are fairly common, and though penalised, are not regarded as exceptionally reprehensible. The reason for this state of things may be that here is an institution which has no myth of origin to control or vitalise it.

Let us now glance briefly at the myths themselves and the institutions with which they are connected. These stories have all been gathered at first hand from the remotest villages of the Maikal Hills, where I myself have been living, in close touch with the tribesmen, for the last six years.

The first myth that we will consider is the story of Creation which leads up to the first sacrifice and the Driving of the Nail, two duties for which even today the Baigas are in constant demand, not only in their own, but in

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1 Shifting cultivation.

neighbouring Gond and Hindu villages. There are many versions of the story, but all agree that in the beginning there was nothing but water everywhere. Here, floating on a lotus leaf sat Bhagavan, without fruit or flower, in such loneliness that he decided to create the world. So he sent out a crow to find the grain of earth which was said to be hidden somewhere beneath the waters. After many adventures the crow found it, and brought it to Bhagavan who kneaded it and magically increased it until it was like a very large thin chapatti which he spread over the face of the waters. But it was so thin that when any one walked on it, it wobbled, and sometimes tipped up on one side. According to other versions of the tale, the messenger of Bhagavan was Pawan Dassorie, the blind Wind-god, who came rushing back with what he had found, but could not see his way, and kept dropping bits of earth all over the water. In this way a similar result was achieved, a thin uneven coating of earth balanced unsteadily upon the waters. In such a situation there was only one thing to do—at least no Gond or Baiga would hesitate for a moment—the great giant Bhimsen was called in to help. He put one mighty foot upon the earth, and it went straight through, right down to the bottom of the sea. Then Bhimsen tried to balance the earth; he put a mountain on each side; where it was too thick he levelled it; he bound it together by planting trees; but it was all useless as the earth still wobbled. He had to return to Bhagavan and confess failure.

On the north side of the universe, there was a mountain. Sometimes it is called Nanga Pahar, sometimes Kajli ban Pahar, the Hill of Elephants. Here Nanga Baiga and Nanga Baigin were born. Some say

that they came direct from the womb of Mother Earth, others<sup>1</sup> that Baba Vishist Muni who was Bhagavan's guru, passed urine for thirteen years into a gourd, until it broke and Nanga Baiga came out weeping. When the Muni saw the child weeping, he was angry; he lifted him up and threw him into the forest. There a black she-cobra caught him, and gave him two and a half drops of her milk to drink. Afterwards the cobra gave birth to Nanga Baigin. These two then began to live naked in the two parts of an ant-hill. There was a lake near by, and Nanga Baiga went to bathe there. The girl also went to bathe, and so they met. Nanga Baiga said to the girl, "If you are ready, I'll have you." She replied, "If you have a mind to it, I'm ready." And two became one there on the bank of the lake. Then they lived in a hollow *saj* tree,<sup>2</sup> on Nanga Pahar, eating roots which they dug in the forest. In the same clearing lived Bara Deo, in the stump of a *saj* tree, Basin Kaniya in a bamboo, and Raja Bastar Rai in a stone.

Bhagavan decided to send for the Baiga to fix the earth in place. First he sent the crow, but the Baiga refused to come. Then he sent Pawan Dassorie, the Wind-god; then he sent Bhimsen. After that he sent a Brahmin. But Nanga Baiga said, "Come and share my

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1 Another version is that two drops of urine fell from the sky; one was a full drop from which Nanga Baiga was born, and one a half drop from which came his sister. The other stories may be attempts to evade the incestuous nature of the relations of the first two Baiga. The Baiga fully understand the function of the father in procreation; semen is urine with flesh in it. The woman's discharge meets and strengthens the man's. But conception only takes place when the spirit of some ancestor is ready to slip into the woman's womb, and give life to the semen.

2 *Terminalia tomentosa*.

*pej*<sup>1</sup> ; then I'll come with you." But the Brahmin could not drink the *pej*, and went away. Then in turn came a Kshatriya, a Bania and a Sudra, representatives of each of the great Hindu caste-divisions and fell at the Baiga's feet. But all he said was, "Come and share my *pej*, and then I'll do anything you ask." At last a Gond came, the younger brother of the Baiga, and he was willing to drink the *pej*. But then the Nanga Baiga said, "We are naked as cows: see, my wife is hiding her privates with her hands; how are we to go and meet the gods?" The Gond sent Bhimsen to get them some cloth. He brought so little that there was only enough for a small lingoti for Nanga Baiga, while Nanga Baigin could not do more than tie a strip round her waist. Underneath she was naked and the Earth looked up and saw her and told her that she must always dress like that.

Nanga Baiga and Nanga Baigin had a son and daughter. They sent to the Agaria and told him to make them four iron nails which they would use to fix the earth. But they had nothing to sacrifice at the time of driving the nails. So they took their own children for the sacrifice. But, on the way, they met a hen who begged them not to sacrifice their children. "Take four pairs of my own chickens," she said. "Sacrifice two pairs, and keep two pairs to breed in your house." Then they met a pig, and after that a *gutri*<sup>2</sup> (barking-deer). The pig gave four pairs of little pigs, and the *gutri* gave four pairs of her children. The *gutri* that lived in the Baiga's house grew up and became goats. They came to a *bel* tree<sup>3</sup> and it said, "Don't

1 A thin gruel made of rice or *koden* (*paspalum scrobiculatum*).

2 *Cervulus muntjac*. Also known as *khākar*.

3 *Aegle marmelos*.

kill your children; take four of my fruits, they are *kuarī nariyal*, virgin coconuts, and offer them."

At last Nanga Baiga and Nanga Baigin came to the place where they were to drive the nails that would make the earth steady. Nanga Baiga sacrificed chickens, pigs and deer; offered the virgin coconuts to Thakur Deo,<sup>1</sup> and the pigs to Mother Earth. Then Nanga Baigin made herself naked and drove the nails into each of the four corners of the earth, and it became steady. Nanga Baiga cut a bamboo and sharpened it. From the shavings came all the tribes of the world. Then Nanga Baiga and Nanga Baigin, being weary, lay down, the man in one corner of the world, the girl in the other. Their feet met in the middle.

But now Bhagavan called all tribes together to make a king over them. The others all came in fine clothes, but Nanga Baiga came with a leaf *lingoti* and an axe over his shoulder. There were golden chairs and silver chairs and chairs of wood, and on these sat all the castes and tribes. But Nanga Baiga sat down on the earth. Then Bhagavan caught him by the hand and said, "Come and sit on the golden couch by my side. You will be the king over all the other tribes and the whole earth shall be yours." But Nanga Baiga said, "No, I don't want to be a king; make the Gond king, for he is my brother." So Bhagavan made the Gond king. To the Baiga he gave this blessing: "All the kingdoms of this earth may fall to pieces, but he who is made of the earth and is Bhumia Raja, lord of the earth, shall never forsake it. You shall make your living from the earth. You shall cut wood and

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1 According to some traditions the husband of Mother Earth, Thakur Deo is a benevolent deity, guardian of villages.

carry it on your shoulders. You shall dig roots and eat them. But you will never become rich, for if you did you would forsake the earth."

This legend, in one or other of its forms, is recited along the whole length of the Maikal Range, from the Saletekri Hills to Amarkantak. If a man is killed by a tiger, it is told with additions that we will describe presently. At the Bhidri ceremony before the sowing of the seed, the Baiga recite it with special reference to Annadai, the Goddess of Food. It is the basis, the foundation of all other legends. It gives to the Baiga a position beyond dispute, a priority above all others.

The story of the Nail is an excellent example of the functional character of myth. For the Nail is as important to-day as it was at the creation of the world. An earthquake, for example, is caused when the Nail is shaken loose by the crime of incest. When this happens, the Baiga must go and drive a new nail into a stone or tree. When a man is killed by a tiger, it is a sign that the power of the Baiga over the village boundaries is growing weak, and a nail must be driven high into a tree to shut the creature's jaws.

There is no evidence that the Baiga ever practised human sacrifice, though the custom was once common enough in the Central Provinces, and has not yet altogether disappeared. But in the myth of Annadai, goddess of food, which is told as a sort of sequel to the creation story, a child is actually sacrificed on the Baiga's threshing-floor, Thakur Deo himself killing him with an arrow from his bow. Human sacrifice is also fairly common in the folktales. Nanga Baiga therefore takes a definite step forward

by establishing animal sacrifice in its place. A similar story describes how a Baiga *gunia*<sup>1</sup> was going to sacrifice his children in the interest of public health, but on his way through the jungle was met by a number of animals who persuaded him to take their offspring instead. This is even more important, for the Nail is driven but rarely, but the *gunia* is continually in demand to counteract the activities of the spirits of disease. As the legendary hen very sensibly remarks, "If you sacrifice a child every time any one gets ill, there will soon be no Baiga left."

The fact that the animals voluntarily offered their children to the Baiga sets the institution on a moral basis, and there can be no guilt in killing animals.

The Baigas must rank among the poorest people in the world. Their tiny huts are often bare of stores; they live from hand to mouth on roots and other wild produce of the jungle. Contempt and beggary hang upon their backs. In Mandla there is a Baiga landlord. He is far poorer than any of his tenants; once when I was staying with him, I found the roof of his house fallen through, and the only food he had was a few handfuls of gram, which his wife had earned by going to grind wheat for a Gond neighbour. And yet he could say without any feeling of incongruity, "The whole world belongs to us; we are the real masters." The Baiga is Bhumia Raja, lord of the earth.

The problem at once arises, "If this is so, how are we to account for the extreme poverty of the Bhumia Raja?" But this is no problem to the Baiga. The answer is given

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1 A medicine-man. In Baiga villages, there are four kinds of magicians—the *tonha*, who practises black magic, the *panda* and *gunia*, medicine-men of greater or less repute, and the *sodha*, an inferior kind of *tonha*.

in the myth. He was established in poverty by Divine permission ; it is his privilege, not his shame. He is the child of earth and must live close to the earth, his mother. " A king cannot live without his kingdom ; a merchant cannot live without his riches ; a Baiga cannot forsake the earth." What was good enough for our great ancestor, Nanga Baiga, he seems to say, is good enough for us. So any attempt to wear more clothes or to go shod with shoes or sandals is frowned on by the orthodox. Tribal calamities are sometimes traced to the love of ease and softness that has corrupted the modern Baiga who wants a quite unnecessary bit of cloth to cover his shoulders. Those who preserve this faith in the blessing of poverty undoubtedly draw comfort and courage from it : I have found the more orthodox the most humourous. They are privileged too, for those who live with their ears pressed against the bosom of Mother Earth hear her whispered secrets, secrets about rain and crops and wild animals which no one else knows.

This leads us to a second cycle of myths, those which establish the Baiga as lord of the forest, the ruler over wild beasts and the cutter of *bewar*.

Mahadeo lived in the jungle for twelve years as a carpenter. But Parvati grew lonely, and made a tiger out of the dirt which she rubbed off from her breasts and sent it to frighten him. When Mahadeo heard it roaring, he trembled and at once sent for Nanga Baiga. " What is the matter with you, Mahadeo ? " asked Nanga Baiga. " Go and kill this animal for me," answered Mahadeo. The Baiga took his axe and killed the tiger, burying it under a banyan tree twenty-four miles long. But by accident he cut one of the roots of the tree, and the tiger drank the milky juice, and came back to life again. It dug its way out and again



began to worry Mahadeo, who called Nanga Baiga once more and said to him, "You sleep with your own sister, that's why you can't kill it. Take your axe and kill it at once." The Baiga chased the tiger, and was about to kill it with his axe, when it raised its paw and said, "Wait, listen to my story." Then the tiger told Nanga Baiga that whenever it caught men or goats or cows in a village, all the people would call on him to help them. "You won't get gold or silver," it said, "the Gond will get that. But whenever you make an offering to me on the hills or in the forest, I will not trouble the people there. And in that way you will make your living." So saying, the tiger ran away into the jungle.

One day, the tiger caught a Gond who had been excommunicated because he had slept with a girl of his own *gotra*. The headman of the village sent for the Baiga and begged him to save the village from the tiger. All night Nanga Baiga did his magic, and in the morning he took all the men into the forest and out of the blood-stained earth made two little images, one of the sin that had killed the man, and one of the Banaspati.<sup>1</sup> Then he called on all the clans of the tiger tribe by name, and told the story of the world down to that day. When he had finished, the spirit of the tiger entered into him, his body trembled and in a frenzy he leapt in the air, and caught hold of the image of sin. Then he drove a nail into a tree at one corner of the village, then in another corner, and so on until he had made the boundary. And he cried out, "I, Nanga Baiga, have made the boundary of this village. I make it free of every kind of tiger." Then the villagers brought money and wine, they collected twenty rupees, and gave it to Nanga

1 A general word both for the spirits and the magical herbs of the forest.

Baiga. From that day he was Bhumia Raja, lord of the earth, and of all wild animals.

This ritual, in a somewhat elaborated form, is still performed by the Baiga whenever any one is killed by a tiger, though I doubt if they are able nowadays to collect so handsome a fee for their services. There are countless stories about their power over tigers and other wild animals, who are said to follow them about like dogs and obey all their orders. There are two other things to note about the legend, the first is the test of the two mud images to discover whether or not the victim had brought his death on himself by some breach of tribal law. A Baiga cannot be killed so long as he is within the protecting walls of the tribe; he can only be killed on *papi-dharti*, that is, if he has committed some offence that would merit excommunication. And just as the tiger drinks milk from the root of the tree, so a man is sometimes buried beneath a *mahua* tree,<sup>1</sup> from whose corollas liquor is distilled, so that even in death he may suck some comfort from it.

*Bewar* was established by divine authority in the days of Nanga Baiga. The founder of the tribe was living in the forest with Nanga Baigin and their two children. But they had nothing to eat. They used to make a sort of soup by boiling *dubi* grass<sup>2</sup> in water. One day Bhagavan asked them how they were. "You have made us lords of the earth," they replied, "but you have given us nothing to eat." Then Bhagavan considered and said, "You are my first-born; if you die, the world will not be steady, for who else can drive the nail that holds it together?" So

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<sup>1</sup> *Bassia latifolia*.

<sup>2</sup> *Cynodon dactylon*.

he showed them how to cut down the trees of the forest, set fire to them, and scatter seeds in the ashes. He bade them not to use the plough, 'for it is a great sin,' he said, 'to break open the belly of your Mother the Earth.' In Bhagavan's court there was a pillar, and when Nanga Baiga went there to get seed, he held out his hands, placing one on either side of it. So when his hands were full and he wanted to go away, he had to separate them, and a lot of the seeds fell on to the ground. That is why the Baigas are always poor. But Nanga Baiga went and did as Bhagavan had bade him, and in his *bewar* Kutki Dai<sup>1</sup>, who is also Annadai, was born and he worshipped her.

*Bewar* has been very largely checked since the establishment of the Forest Department. It is still practised, however, in some States and Zemindaris. In Mandla a block of forest has been set aside for the purpose, in which a few families exercise their hereditary rights. Many Baigas, however, have been driven to plough-cultivation. This, they believe, is the cause of all their misfortunes. It is an insult to the Earth their Mother, a crime as bad as incest; on the day they first lacerated the earth's bosom with the plough, a son died in every house. For *bewar* is the mark of the tribe; it distinguishes the Baiga from all others; it is a right and a duty laid on them by divine mandate. It also, it may be added, admirably suits the carefree and indolent Baiga temperament; it is very profitable to the Bewari; and it is less arduous than field-cultivation. And how dramatic and exciting to go to the forest, how thrilling the glorious wholesale felling of trees, the kindling of the Virgin Fire with two bamboos, the sacrifice

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<sup>1</sup> *Kutki* (*Panicum psilopodium*). This, with *Kodon*, is the staple food of the Gond and Baiga.

to the tigers who have been dispossessed of their silvan palace ; then the broadcast scattering of seeds all together anyhow in the ashes ; and afterwards, the bumper crop.

How is it that the Baiga does not possess a monopoly of magical powers, but has to share them with members of other tribes ? Even the magic he has is a weak and beggarly thing, very different from the magic of his ancestors who could make the dead to live, turn themselves at will into wild animals, call the hosts of heaven to their aid, walk on the water, fly through air, wield monstrous weapons, and win whole villages of girls by their love-magic.

But the cause of this is known. I say 'cause' and not 'explanation' because the Baiga regards his myths as entirely definite happenings on which the whole of the modern social order is established. A folk-tale is quite a different thing and is easy to distinguish—the myths are fully documented, as it were ; names and places are indicated ; you almost expect to find dates and foot-notes. In the folk-tales not even the heroes are given names, and you never know where you are. The folk-tales are also important as expressing and sometimes influencing the life of the tribe ; but they lack the authority of the myths.

This then is how the Baiga lost their monopoly of magic. Nanga Baiga and all his family were immortal. But after a time Bhagavan grew tired of them and wanted to create different lives on the earth. But he had used all the lives he had in making the Baiga. The only way to get new lives was to kill them and create new people out of their lives. So he invented the sensation of tickling, and Nanga Baiga began to scratch himself all over. But there was one part of his body that he could not reach, the small

of his back, and he used to use a stick to scratch this place. But one day when he picked up the stick to scratch himself, Bhagavan turned the stick into a cobra. It bit him, and he died. As he lay dying, he said to his son, "We would never have died, if Bhagavan had not tricked us." And he told him not to burn or throw his body away, but to put it into twelve earthen pots, and cook it for twelve years, and then eat it. "If you do this," he said, "Bhagavan won't be able to get my life, and you will possess all that I have." This the boy did, but at the end of the twelve years, Bhagavan disguised himself as a *sadhu* and came to try to persuade him not to eat his father—for if he did so, he would get his life and all his magic. Bhagavan told the young Baiga what a great sin it was to eat his father, and at last persuaded him to throw the pots into the river. As he did so some of the steam from the boiled flesh went into his nostrils. That was all he got of his father's magic. The pots floated down the river to a place where, at the bathing ghat, a one-eyed Gondin, a lame Dhobin and a crippled Chamarin were washing clothes. When the three old women saw the pots, they waded out into the river and brought them to shore, and eagerly devoured the contents. Directly they did so, they were filled with magic. There was a fig tree on the bank of the river. They looked at it, and with the poison of their gaze it withered away. Then they composed two and a half *mantras*, and dug a small tank and filled it with their urine. Out of their own excrement they made images of Mahadeo and Parvati. They threw off all their clothes, let down their hair and danced before the images.

When they had finished their dance, they sent out their *bhut* (familiar) to find them men. The *bhut* went to

a village and killed seven men. Then the three witches went to the place where the seven men were buried. They went seven times round each grave, and again made a little tank and filled it with their urine. They made images of Mahadeo and Parvati out of their excrement, and danced naked before them. Then they dug up the bodies and restored them to life, but so bound them by their spells that they could not move hand or foot. They bathed them in the tank of urine and then cut off their heads. They took out their livers and ate them, and then reburied them. The men themselves became *bhut* and troubled the other villagers, but the witches went away.

This story is not entirely honest, for the Baiga witches are as numerous and as wicked as any others. On the other hand, it is exceptionally interesting psychologically, because it is evident that the Baiga regret the fact that their ancestors were so simple as to allow themselves to be tricked by Bhagavan into not eating their father. Yet, since events have turned out that way, they make the best of it, affect to regard cannibalism with horror, and claim that their own attenuated magic is at least benevolent, while describing the witchcraft of the other tribes with every circumstance of horror and disgust.

Magic, of course, is handed down from father to son, and there is always the suspicion that the father is not giving all that he knows; he is not giving his whole body, but only a whiff of the steam, as in the story.

But even to-day the Baiga believes himself a match for anyone. Magic is for him the most vital and potent reality. If he cannot raise the dead, he can at least ward off the demons of disease. If he cannot sow crops without seed,

he can at least make all the difference to the seeds that are sown. If he cannot attract the love of a whole village of maidens, he is quite competent to seduce them one by one. His magic, in fact, covers every side of his life; without it, existence would be unbearable, lacking all spice and flavour, without vitality.

The Baiga *gunia* is in constant demand to fight disease. Disease is due to purely physical causes, to witchcraft and to the hostility of supernatural beings. A correct diagnosis is therefore of the utmost importance; the diagnosis, of course, has not to say *what* the disease is, but *why* it is.

A good example of the first type is venereal disease. If a man is so foolish as to have sexual intercourse with a witch she may smite him with syphilis, and I know one or two cases of epididymitis that have been ascribed to magic. But the Baiga does not realise that epididymitis is a complication of gonorrhoea, and in the main it is believed that venereal disease comes from our own bodies, not from outside. And for this and some other diseases the Baiga has a very large number of natural remedies, varying from herbs that have been adopted by Western medicine to such remedies as a fried tiger's tongue or a girl's ribbon tied round the affected place.

A witch can cause disease directly by looking at someone, or she can exhaust a man by drinking his blood while he is asleep. Again, by getting hold of something that has belonged to him, she can work a magic that will make him fall ill. But her most common device is to enlist the assistance of supernatural beings; she may send her own *bhut* to torment her victim, or she may obtain the services of a

*churel*,<sup>1</sup> a *rakshas*,<sup>2</sup> a *bir*,<sup>3</sup> or any of the beings who are described in the story we are about to relate. And as each being has to be propitiated in its own special way, it is evident that a correct diagnosis is of the utmost importance. Once the *gunia* has discovered the cause of the trouble, his knowledge of magic will tell him what to do. The exciting part of the magic against disease is always the diagnosis, which has to be made in trance; the rest is pure routine.

Finally, disease may be caused by the hostility and envy of supernatural beings who act, as it were, on their own, without any direction from mankind. Nearly all the gods are hostile to the Baiga; we have seen how Bhagavan was jealous of Nanga Baiga and tricked him out of the world; there are a number of stories which reveal Mahadeo in the same sinister light. But provided the Baiga *gunia* can discover whom he has to deal with, then he is quite capable of handling the situation. His supernormal powers are indeed mainly directed towards discovering what is the matter.

The following story describes the origin of some of these mysterious and malignant beings. We should note the exact details, and the number of names of places and people which to the mind of the Baiga authenticate it as history.

Marra Deo was born in Madhogarh, and Piri Dessaie in Deohaveli. These two married, and set out together, with twelve hundred bullocks and twelve men to care for them, on a pilgrimage to Bhairat. They first went to

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1 The *churel* is the ghost of a woman who dies in child-birth.

2 The *rakshas*, in Baiga tradition, is the ghost of a man who has died without tasting the joys of love.

3 The *bir* is a malignant familiar of witches.



Sonnagarh and camped on the bank of the lake, and sent the bullocks to pasture in the jungle. Here Naikinbai was born to them. One night Piri Dessaie went into the tank and stirred up all the water, making it foul and muddy. When the bullocks went to drink next day they all fell ill and died. Many of the villagers also died. When the Raja heard that it was Piri Dessaie, who had come there, he came and fell at her feet, and said, "I will give you twelve hundred of my subjects. Load them on your bullocks and take them for *admipuja* (human sacrifice)." So they loaded the bullocks with men and the sickness ceased.

They went on to Hardinagar. There Chilkan Piri was born. Here the villagers were smitten with griping pains in the stomach, and many died. The Raja gave twelve hundred sacks of *haldi*, and the disease stopped.

After that they came to Ramnagar, where Bai Hardahin was born, and the villagers died of a yellow vomit. They went on to Lamanagarh, where Mirgi Devi was born and all the people fell down with fits. Then on to Naikagarh, where Bhaisasur Banjari was born, and the women, after drinking the water of the muddied tank, had to endure menstrual flow for months instead of days. At Hasnagarh, Hadphoran Marhi was born, and small-pox came, breaking out of the marrow of men's bones. The Raja here had nothing to offer so he himself became the *gunia* of the party. At Kairagarh, Kaira Dessaie was born, and the women who drank the water gave premature birth to their babes.

And then at last they came to Bhairat in the midst of the forest. There Dhau Bundela was born of Marra Deo and Piri Dessaie, and they rested after their journey. Pre-

sently Panchadevi came and called them all together. She told them how they were to go out into the world, and spread disease in every place. Each one should give the disease of the place in which she had been born. Sometimes they would go according to their own desire, sometimes at the command of a witch. Then Panchadevi told them under what conditions they might stop troubling the people. If the Baiga *gunia* offered a black goat to Naikin Bai, then there must be no more cattle disease. Chilkani Piri was to be satisfied with a coconut and a chicken, Hardahin with a pig, Mirgi with the tongue of a horse, Bhaisasur with the ears of a buffalo. Hadphoran Marhi should expect a *sariya* (rosary), a *bandan* (ornament for the forehead), a *tikli* and a pair of black bangles. For Kaira Dassaie, the villagers must take a black she-goat, put the *sariya* round its neck, tie a *bandan* on its forehead, place the *tikli* between its eyes, and the bangles on its feet, and drive it away into the jungle so that it might carry the disease away. For Dhau Bundela, a *lathi* (stick), a whip and an offering of fire would suffice.

"If the *gunia* calls on me," she told them, "I will tell him what to give you. If he obeys me, then you are to leave that village and come and tell me all that has happened. You may tell lies to all the world, but to me you must always speak the truth."

When Panchadevi had finished giving her orders, Piri Dassaie and Marra Deo sacrificed the twelve hundred men to the *devi*; they had no axes or knives, so they killed them with their diseases, and when they were dead they drank the blood. After that the *devi* said that they no more wanted men, but that they would accept the animals and other things that Panchadevi had assigned to

them. Then they went out to every corner of the world, and spread disease.

This myth gives an historical and economic basis to the work of the *gunia*. It provides him with his tariff of charges—jaundice will cost you a pig, epilepsy the tongue of a horse, and so on, in addition of course to charges for liquor and other expenses. It also gives another reason for the cessation of human sacrifice, which was performed once and for all at Bhairat and need not be repeated.

How far do the myths illustrate the domestic relations and the sexual psychology of the modern Baigas? We have already pointed out that there is no mythological foundation for the laws of exogamy. Totemism, except in the sense that the tiger might perhaps be called the totem of the entire tribe, hardly exists. The laws of exogamy are frequently broken. Incest is by no means uncommon. I know of a dozen cases where father and daughter, or brother and sister have lived together. It is a sin—but not so bad, say the Hinduised Baigas, as killing a cow. A tribal dinner frees them of the deed. It is, however, condemned in the tales and myths, but perhaps not very severely. One of the tales describes a man who lived with his own daughter and was struck with leprosy, worms devouring his feet. We have seen that earthquakes are due to incest. There is a curious variant of the Creation story which describes how the first living creature was a worm which slowly developed into a little girl. She made a child out of the dirt which she rubbed from her arm, and when her son grew older, tried to make him marry her. When he refused she threw him into the

water and drowned him. Then she gave birth to another son which grew out of the lotus flower in which she lived. When he too was old enough she tried to marry him. He refused, but when she threatened to drown him, he agreed—and the two were transformed into Mahadeo and Parvati !

Like other peoples the Baigas have their Liberals and their Conservatives. One party is anxious to keep the tribe entirely free of alien blood ; the Liberals produce all sorts of tales which show that in ancient times Gond, Ahir, and Brahmin were admitted to their fold. To-day, the liberal section admits Gond into the tribe, but not the members of any other caste. In the same way cross-cousin marriage is permitted by some, but disallowed by others, and the stricter party proves its point by reference to the Sun and Moon. Aginjar and Phulmotiya, they say, were brother and sister—the former was father of the Sun, the latter mother of the Moon. The marriage of two children was thus highly desirable from the standpoint of the liberals. But the myth describes how the two were sleeping together on their bed, and the Moon said, "I'm your sister ; how can I sleep with you ? " The Sun replied, "You are my wife ; or how did you get these children ? " In the end the two separated, and the bed ran away for shame because it was the bed of sin. But Nanga Baiga was ploughing on the Hill of Elephants,<sup>1</sup> and he caught the bed, and broke it with his hammer, and set it in the sky. The bed with its broken legs is the Great Bear.

There is not a great deal of hostility to the father apparent in the myths. This may be due to the absence of

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<sup>1</sup> The Kajli ban Pahar, Hill of Elephants, is possibly the Maikal Range, where wild elephants abounded in former times.

repression in Baiga home-life. The child is a *devata*, a godling, it must do what it likes. Even sexual excesses and abnormalities are not usually checked by the parents. A much more common feature of the tales is the hatred felt by the elder brothers for the younger—for according to the Baiga tradition of the levirate the younger brother has the right to take his elder brother's wife after death and not infrequently amuses himself with her while the husband is still living. Jealousy of the younger brother is a very powerful force in Baiga society. In fact, the conscious mind is so busy with its unrepressed antipathies that the unconscious has little chance to express its secret hatreds.

In the myths the real enemy is not the father, but the gods, for these are the real tyrants. How degraded are the mighty Hindu deities! Bhagavan the Adorable sits helpless on his lotus leaf wondering how on earth to make the world. Mahadeo wanders in the forest as a carpenter, trembling at the roar of a tiger. Bhagavan tricks the Baiga to rob them of their lives. Perhaps we here get a glimpse of the gods as they were before they were taken over from the aboriginals and deified by Hinduism.

But if the prestige of the gods is low, every myth is a direct glorification of the Baiga, and does much to maintain tribal integrity and prestige. At the creation, all the four Hindu castes have to go to beg the Baiga to come to their help. In one story, Nanga Baiga takes the five Pandava and turns them into bullocks to carry his grain. Mahadeo had to go to him in danger. Bhagavan is jealous of his magical powers. Other stories show Brahmin, Abir and Gond begging to be made Baiga and only admitted with some difficulty.

We have said enough to illustrate the close connection of myth with the daily life of the tribe. Some of the stories are known to every child ; others are the jealously kept secrets of the *gunia*. But to all they are much more than mere fairy stories, more important than if they were merely primitive attempts at scientific explanation. To the Baiga they are the records of veritable happenings which set the social order on its course, instituted tribal law, and established him in his unique position as Bhumia Raja, lord of the earth.

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## PHYSICAL DATA FROM KATHIAWAR.

BY DR. G. S. GHURYE, PH.D. (CANTAB.),

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There has been a paucity of physical measurements on representative castes of Gujarat and Kathiawar. The ethnographic survey of 1901 contained measurements on only two Gujarat castes, *viz.*, the Bania and the Nagar Brahmin, while that of 1931 provided us with measurements on four Gujarat castes and only one caste from the Kathiawar province, *viz.*, the Audich Brahmin, the Bania-Jain, the Brahma-Kshatri, the Nagar Brahmin, and the Kathi. The Kunbi-Patidar included in this latter survey can hardly be regarded as a proper Gujarat caste in view of the fact that all the subjects measured were from the State of Barwani from the Central India Agency. On my visit to Kathiawar in November 1936, I therefore decided to take a few measurements on a number of castes, particularly non-Brahmin, to make a group representing various grades of social precedence, so that a student of Indian ethnography may be able to form his judgment about the physical type of Kathiawar. Altogether I selected thirteen endogamous units to make my sample and, except in the case of two castes in every case, each caste is represented by more than fifty individuals. The lowest among them is represented by the Mochi, who is the leather worker of Kathiawar. The Kumbhar, the potter, represents the artisan class; Luhana, the trading classes; the Bharwad and the Ayar, the pastoralists; Kharag, Satwara, Kadwa-Kunbi,

Leva-Kanbi, represent the agricultural classes; the Koli, in both the sections, Chamvalia and Talabda, represents the aboriginal element, partially settled as a semi-military, semi-agricultural and semi-predatory community; the Kathi represents the dominant military community. The Rajput group is very largely composed of agriculturists only a few individuals being small land-lords or petty officials. So it is seen that the sample is fairly representative of the social scale.

Besides the towns of Limbdi, Bhavanagar and Kundla, I visited nine villages in Bhavanagar State and seven in Limbdi State to measure the subjects, *viz.*, Adhewada, Bhanderia, Bhumli, Dewada, Khadsalia, Koliyad, Nari, Thalsar, Vartej, Bodia, Ghagretia, Liad, Nana-Timla, Rangpur, Raska, and Shiani.<sup>1</sup> The age distribution of the subjects is given in the following statement (Statement I) from which it will be seen that the individuals are all adults.

It will be seen from Statement II that the average height varies from 63.00" of the Talabda Koli to 65.04" of the Bharwad. All the castes are medium-statured, and the Kathi only ranks second to the Bharwad. If we leave out the Bharwad and the dominant community of Kathi, and also the Rajput, who though largely agricultural, claims some connexion with the dominant caste of Rajput, the average height is hardly 64.00".

In Statement III are given the averages and the Standard Deviations of Head-Length, Head-Breadth, Cephalic Index, Nasal-Length, Nasal-Breadth, and the

<sup>1</sup> I am very thankful to the Governments of both these States for the great facilities that they provided me with for carrying on my work.



**Nasal Index.** The lengths and breadths are in millimetres, and the measurements are taken in conformity with the instructions contained in the 'Notes and Queries on Anthropology.' It will be seen that the sample is mesati-cephalic, but bordering on brachycephaly. No caste has an index lower than 78 nor greater than 82. Leaving the Kharag and the Ayar castes, of which only a few individuals are measured, of the remaining eleven castes five have an index of 80 and over, the highest being that of the Kathi which is 81.60. Both the Kunbi communities give an index of more than 81. The N. I. varies from 71.40 of the Bharwad to 77.52 of the Satwara. All the castes thus have medium noses. To facilitate further analysis of the head-form and the nose-form in Statement IV is given the distribution of C. I. and N. I. according to groups from which it will be seen that only a very small percentage of the subjects have a C. I. of 75 and below, *viz.*, 89 out of 1029, while 526 have an index of 80.1 and above. Those with an index of 75 and below form not even 9% while those having an index of 80.1 and above form 51% of the total. The significance of the percentage distribution of the index in the lower and higher ranges can best be understood when we remember that according to the measurements of 12 Marathi castes in the 1901 ethnographic survey 25.6% of the subjects had a cephalic index of 75 and below while 29% had one of 80.1 and above. Thus it is seen that in the case of Kathiawar we are dealing with a sub-brachycephalic sample in which the mixture of proper dolichocephal is not very much in evidence.

The colour of the eye is noted with the help of the 'Augenfarben-Tafel nach Rudolph Martin und Bruno K. Schultz' and the numbers in Statement V refer to its

numbers. It is seen from this that numbers 12 to 15 are typical of the sample which may be said to be varieties of brown. Numbers 13, 14, and 15 may be taken to represent grades of dark-brown, while number 12 is distinctively light-brown. Only 122 individuals show the light-brown eye. Thus the prevailing type of the eye-colour may be considered to be dark-brown.

To compare the racial distance, the differential index based on Head-Length, Head-Breadth, Nasal-Length, Nasal-Breadth, and the Cephalic and the Nasal Indices calculated from them, is presented in Statement VI. The castes so compared are eleven. While interpreting these numerical values one must keep in view that the same index computed for two samples of the Kathi caste, one measured by Dr. Guha, and included in the Ethnographic Survey of 1931, and the other measured by the present author and included in this study, has a numerical value of 1.85. The values of this differential index as calculated for four Gujarat castes measured by Dr. Guha may also be noted here. The D. I. between Brahmin Kshatri and Bania-Jain, Audich Brahmin, and Nagar Brahmin is 0.79, 1.85, 2.90; that between Bania-Jain and Nagar Brahmin, Audich Brahmin is 0.77, and 1.71 respectively; that between Nagar Brahmin and Audich Brahmin is 1.74. It is seen from this Statement that larger values for this index are shown by the Kathi. The lowest index is 0.39 which is between Talabda-Koli and Chumvalia-Koli.

Personal names, in so far as they are an item of culture, are worth studying. I took down the names of all the subjects and their fathers for purposes of specifica-

tion of measurements. The names met with among the two Kunbi communities are the following: Amarsi, Antha, Anand, Arjan; Balu, Bapuji, Bechar, Bhana, Bhawan, Bhikha, Bhim, Bhima, Budhar; Chatur, Chhagan, Chika; Damodar, Daya, Dayal, Deva, Devji, Devraj, Dhanji, Dharamsi, Dudha, Dunger; Gabhru, Gaga, Gagji, Gambhir, Ganda, Gangaram, Ganesh, Ghela, Girdharlal, Gokul, Gopal, Govind, Govindji, Gudar; Hansraj, Hari, Harish-chandra, Harjivan, Harkha, Hira; Jadhavji, Jagjivan, Jairam, Jasa, Javer, Jetha, Jethalal, Jiva, Jivan, Jivabhai, Jivandas, Jivraj, Jutha; Kala, Kalidas, Kalu, Kalyan, Kanji, Kanti, Karsan, Karsandas, Ken, Kesa, Kesavji, Kesu, Khima, Khimji, Kisa, Khoda, Khushal, Kuber, Kunvra, Kunvarji; Ladha, Lakha, Lakhman, Lala, Lalji, Lalu, Lava, Lavji; Madha, Madhavji, Magan, Magha, Mahadev, Makan, Mala, Mana, Mandan, Manji, Mathur, Mavji, Meghji, Mitha, Mohan, Mohanlal, Mora, Moti, Motilal, Mulji; Nami, Nanji, Naran, Narandas, Narottam, Narsi, Natha, Nathu; Oghad; Padma, Parbhu, Parshotam, Pasha, Pashva, Pitambar, Pola, Popat, Prag, Pran, Premji, Punja; Ragha, Raghu, Raja, Rama, Ramji, Ranchhod, Ratna, Rupa; Sambhu, Shana, Shankar, Shavji, Shiva, Singa, Sunderji; Talvi, Teja, Thakarsi, Thakarsing, Thobhan, Tida, Tribhuvan, Tulsi; Uka; Vala, Vanmali, Vasta, Vira, Virji, Vishram, Vithal, Vithaldas, Vrajlal. These are generally common among the other communities studied with the exception of the Rajputs among whom though some of these names occur, there are others which are ending in 'sing' and are reminiscent of Rajput history. A few striking names over and above this list which occur only in a few communities may be noticed; thus, the names Ala, Amal, Amir, Bhoja, Bijal, Chotha, Godal, Jabra,

Kachra, Laghra, Mangla, Mepa, Pancha, Raimal, Ruda, Rukhad, Sagram, Samat, Shakur, Sidi, Sura, Tapur, Varjang, occur in the Bharwad community. Among the Rajputs also the name 'Ala' is sometimes to be found. Again, some of the names just mentioned as rather striking and peculiar, and as are to be found in the Bharwad community, are to be met with in some other communities too. Thus 'Bigal' obtains in the two Koli communities; 'Kachra' in the Talabda-Koli caste group; 'Laghra' in the Satwara and the two Koli communities; 'Mangla' in the Chumvalia Koli community; 'Mepa' among the Kumbhars; 'Pancha' among the Chumvalia Kolis; 'Raimal' among Chumvalia and Talabda Kolis; 'Ruda' among Talabda Kolis; 'Rukhad' among the Kathis; 'Samat' among the Talabda Kolis and the Kathis; 'Sidi' among the Chumvalia Kolis; 'Sura' among the Talabda Kolis and the Kumbhars; 'Tapur' among the Chumvalia Kolis and the Kathis; finally, one may mention 'Hamir'—a name that is not mentioned before—which occurs among the Bharwads and the Kathis. There are some names in the Kathi like 'Devayat,' 'Devdan,' 'Harsur,' 'Jetsur,' 'Kankhad,' 'Kanthad,' 'Lunvir,' 'Mansur,' 'Meram,' 'Nag,' 'Punnad,' 'Sadul,' 'Sivrag,' 'Unnad,' and 'Vastsur,' which seem to be peculiar to them.

## STATEMENT I.

## AGE-DISTRIBUTION.

Number in specified age-period.

Name of the Caste.	21-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	41-45	46-50	51-55	56-60	61-	Total
1 Ayar (Ahir) ...	x	7	7	3	x	1	2	1	4	25
2 Bharwad ..	44	15	10	9	12	10	9	8	0	117
3 Kadwa-Kunbi...	41	14	17	11	10	7	8	2	7	117
4 Kathi ...	31	14	20	17	18	11	5	7	12	185
5 Kharag...	4	8	5	8	4	6	2	3	3	58
6 Koli-Chumvalia	34	15	8	17	8	7	10	8	3	110
7 Koli-Talabda ...	41	17	11	12	18	12	11	4	3	124
8 Kumbhar..	11	8	8	5	8	5	3	3	2	53
9 Leva-Kunbi ...	33	18	7	7	10	9	8	11	3	101
10 Lohana-Ghogari..	8	4	6	3	8	3	8	4	7	51
11 Mochi ...	19	11	8	4	1	8	1	2	5	54
12 Rajput ...	30	19	14	11	11	11	7	9	1	113
13 Satwara...	21	7	5	7	8	4	5	1	0	53

Total. 1692

## STATEMENT II.

HEIGHT (in inches).

Average. S. D

1 Ayar (Ahir) ...	63.7	2.53
2 Bharwad ..	65.04	2.27
3 Kadwa-Kunbi ...	63.72	2.03
4 Kathi ...	64.94	2.42
5 Kharag ...	64.13	1.71
6 Koli-Chumvalia ...	63.43	2.17
7 Koli-Talabda ...	63.00	2.43
8 Kumbhar ...	63.88	2.25
9 Leva-Kunbi ...	63.84	2.12
10 Lohana-Ghogari...	63.95	1.17
11 Mochi ...	63.13	2.08
12 Rajput ...	64.72	2.42
13 Satwara ...	64.05	2.20

## STATEMENT III.

Name of Caste	H. L.		H. B.		C. L.		N. L.		N. B.		N. I.	
	Av.	S. D.	Av.	S. D.	Av.	S. D.	Av.	S. D.	Av.	S. D.	Av.	S. D.
1 Ayar (Ahir)...	182.34	5.19	148.26	6.98	81.28	2.36	49.54	2.92	37.18	1.52	74.90	4.97
2 Bharwad ...	184.56	6.70	145.88	4.69	79.05	3.52	51.13	3.58	36.38	2.57	71.40	6.49
3 Kadwa-Kunbi	181.77	6.25	148.34	4.84	81.49	3.39	51.54	3.16	37.90	2.69	73.85	7.15
4 Kathi ...	188.03	6.98	153.81	5.49	81.60	3.62	53.00	3.41	38.02	2.77	71.80	6.97
5 Kharag ...	180.94	6.22	145.71	4.58	80.70	3.25	50.43	4.19	38.36	2.66	76.78	8.87
6 Koli-Chumva-												
lia ...	181.57	6.17	143.61	4.95	79.20	3.63	48.61	3.10	36.65	2.44	75.89	7.24
7 Koli-Talabda..	182.78	6.53	143.58	3.11	78.48	3.72	48.85	3.79	36.84	2.43	75.68	7.96
8 Kumbhar ...	182.72	5.22	144.14	4.37	78.89	3.12	50.29	3.69	36.58	2.46	72.89	7.70
9 Leva-Kunbi...	180.73	6.35	146.74	5.09	81.21	3.17	49.36	3.70	35.50	2.64	76.21	2.25
10 Lohana-G h o-												
gari ...	186.46	6.40	149.13	5.60	80.00	3.76	51.35	3.48	40.10	2.67	76.40	6.67
11 Mochi ...	183.58	5.68	146.77	4.87	79.83	3.56	50.83	3.46	37.77	2.99	74.20	8.13
12 Rajput ...	182.03	5.71	146.81	5.37	80.63	3.47	50.83	3.69	36.53	2.55	72.30	7.03
13 Satwara ...	180.20	5.45	143.20	3.68	79.49	3.65	48.40	3.75	37.25	2.84	77.52	7.49

## STATEMENT IV.

Name.	C. I. Distribution					N. I. Distribution.				
	75 & Below	75.10 to 80.00	80.10 to 85.00	85.10 to Above.	Total.	65.00 & Below	65.10 to 70.00	70.10 to 75.00	75.10 to 80.00	80.10 & Above.
1 Bharwad..	16	57	38	7	118	17	32	39	17	13
2 Kadwa- Kunbi ...	4	29	66	18	117	12	25	34	26	20
3 Kathi ...	9	38	61	27	135	24	30	43	21	17
4 Koli- Chumvalia	13	54	39	4	110	6	19	25	29	31
5 Koli-Tal- labda ...	20	58	43	3	124	10	16	33	38	27
6 Kumbhar.	4	29	19	1	53	9	14	12	6	12
7 Leva-Kun- bi ...	2	40	44	15	101	5	14	27	28	29
8 Lohana- Ghogari.	3	23	19	6	51	8	9	8	14	17
9 Mochi ...	5	22	24	3	54	8	9	12	15	10
10 Rajput ...	7	40	54	12	113	16	28	34	23	12
11 Satwara...	6	24	20	3	53	2	9	8	12	22

## STATEMENT V.

## DISTRIBUTION OF EYE-COLOUR.

	5	6	8	9	11	12	13	14	15	16	Sore
1 Ayar (Ahir)	...	...	...	...	1	1	5	7	6	5	...
2 Bharwad	...	...	...	...	1	7	34	28	25	...	3
3 Kadwa-Kunbi	...	...	...	1	1	18	31	40	23	1	1
4 Kathi	...	...	...	2	1	25	13	69	13	6	6
5 Kharag	...	1	...	4	...	9	19	5	16	5	2
6 Koli-Chumvalia	...	...	...	...	1	3	10	31	31	2	1
7 Koli-Talabda	...	...	...	3	...	7	16	35	39	21	1
8 Kumbhar	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	8	19	21	...
9 Leva-Kunbi	...	...	...	...	2	14	38	33	11	...	3
10 Lohana-Ghogari	...	...	...	...	...	...	9	19	16	5	2
11 Mochi	...	...	...	...	...	2	9	19	21	2	1
12 Rajput	...	...	1	1	...	1	21	35	30	24	...
13 Satwara	...	...	...	...	...	1	2	17	22	9	1
Total: 1092 ...	1	1	9	4	18	122	272	386	281	26	22

## STATEMENT VI.

## DIFFERENTIAL INDEX.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
	Bharwad.	Kadwa Kunbi.	Kathia.	Koli Chum- valia.	Koli Talabda.	Kum- bhar.	Leva Kunbi.	Luhana.	Mochi.	Rajput.	Satwara.
1 Bharwad	x	1.43	2.82	1.74	1.53	1.20	2.26	2.56	1.07	1.44	3.18
2 Kadwa-Kunbi	1.43	x	1.93	2.58	2.55	1.99	1.14	1.33	0.79	1.21	2.81
3 Kathi	2.82	1.93	x	4.19	4.25	3.50	3.06	2.04	2.54	2.44	4.56
4 Koli-Chumvalia	1.74	2.58	4.19	x	0.39	1.50	1.48	2.74	1.72	1.61	1.15
5 Koli-Talabda	1.53	2.55	4.25	0.39	x	1.45	2.45	2.76	1.65	1.63	0.93
6 Kumbhar	1.20	1.99	3.50	1.50	1.45	x	1.92	2.35	1.23	1.02	1.57
7 Leva-Kunbi	2.26	1.14	3.06	1.48	2.45	1.92	x	2.15	1.09	1.37	1.47
8 Luhana	2.56	1.33	2.04	2.76	2.76	2.35	2.15	x	1.30	1.90	3.78
9 Mochi	1.07	0.79	2.54	1.72	1.65	1.23	1.09	1.30	x	0.58	2.88
10 Rajput	1.44	1.21	2.44	1.61	1.63	1.02	1.37	1.90	0.58	x	2.17
11 Satwara	3.18	2.81	4.56	1.15	0.93	1.57	1.47	3.78	2.88	2.17	x



## **“VRATAS”—VOWS OF VIRGINS AMONG HINDUS.**

**By S. S. MEHTA, ESQR., B.A.**

Anthropology teaches us that the primitive man has a type of mind not different from that of the civilized man, since his intellect deals with the phenomena of the world in the same way as ours. The difference consists in his recognizing supernatural interference with the laws of Nature. On the onward march of civilization, the same primitive man makes progress through mistakes ; and making discoveries through practical experience strives to get hold of truth.

Hindus had their vows or ascetic austerities in ancient times, and these continue to be handed down traditionally to our modern times in modified forms but the kernel remains unchanged. The change of season brought out changes of these austere vows. These vows are mostly observed by celebrating them as festivals, as suited to the different growths and products of the particular season.

It is obvious to note that the house-holder with all his vast and varied opportunities of enjoying worldly life must perform some austerities, in order to break the dull monotony of pleasure itself. Consequently, each month has its own days reserved for this purpose ; but comparatively speaking, Kartik, Chaitra, Shravana and Bhadrapada-Ashvin have more than 15 days of each month meant for simple or austere religious performances, and the remaining months less.

These are termed "Vratas" or austere vows; some of them are celebrated during daytime, as opposed to others which are so done at night. Here the fundamental principle of division or classification is generally sex as well as Varnas and Ashramas; but most of them are meant to be performed by women, *i.e.*, some are meant to be celebrated by married women and some others by virgins or unmarried girls; and only a few are intended for males, unaccompanied by their wives or other women.

Regarding nocturnal festive occasions in which semi-religious or rather traditionally established customs are celebrated, the present writer has read more papers than one. In respect of seasons, moreover, to which certain rites and performances are consecrated, other papers have been read and contributed eventually to the pages of the Society's Journal. In one of the papers, it was also made clear that the Brahmana above all "Varnas" attaches greater importance to the cocoanut Purnima or Balev rites, meant for the change of the sacred thread; similarly the Kshatriya to the Dasera rites; the Vaisya to the Divali holidays; and the Sûdra to the Holi performances.

Again, it was pointed out that Mahārātri (Janmāśtami); Moharātri (Holi); Kāla Rātri (the 14th dark half of Ashvin); Shiva Rātri (the birth of Shiva); and Nava Rātri (the nine nights' ceremonies dedicated to nine Divine Mothers) are festivals to be celebrated during night-time, *i.e.*, after dusk.

Of course, ceremonies both religious and customary accompanying (1) Birth; (2) Marriage; and (3) Death are manifold and they are a main part of every householder's indispensable duty; but because they would

constitute an independent paper, it is not proposed to touch any one of them here. In this paper, however, it is proposed to deal with some leading maiden vows, in connection with which tradition and folklore have been preserved to some satisfactory extent.

As observed above, what stores of legendary lore as well as folklore, that have been preserved from the days of yore, are likely to be found in their untainted purity even in our own times among the rural population. It can be safely remarked also that none of the performances of maidens will be subjected to critical examination; they form the basis of thought and action just as they do in the case of primitive man. Of course "the supernatural" means everything to these simple and uncultured minds. In all times and in all climes, this tendency of preserving tradition and customary rites is discovered and even the rays of civilization attended with all scientific inventions are not sharp enough to penetrate the simple and natural action of feelings and sentiments and to recognize the truth underlying these, though laid bare to the full view of men.

Such performances or celebrations are found to be common to many races; in fact, they are a common property and not confined to any one race or nation. With the change of season, the mind and heart of men and women undergo a corresponding change and the rites, sometimes appearing gay and childish and sometimes grave and solemn, mark the transition-period between two seasons. It is human desire, in fine, that tries to be fulfilled through the different ceremonies of these austere vows or "Vratas", as they are styled. They have ever continued to preserve still the freshness and fervour of these

vows, even though in India, political rulers have changed hands so frequently. On the other side, too, in America, the original inhabitants of the land have been able to preserve their ancient manners and customs for generations together, in their essential parts—the outward manifestations might differ in details. The same is the case in India; for in Bengal, the outward forms of these vows might appear to be different, in the case of some, from those of the same in Gujarat or Mahārashtra. Sometimes, however, similarity or close resemblance happens to be marked out between the rites of Indo-Aryans and European-Aryans. A very striking example to shew this was pointed out in a separate paper some years ago by this writer in which close resemblance was traced in a marked degree between the worship of “Gauri-Mā” of the Hindus with the rituals of St. Agnes’ Eve Festival, among the ancient Grecian people.

A second example in point would be “Maundy Thursday”<sup>1</sup> in which also resemblance is striking enough. “This is the most picturesque and interesting survival in Briton of the gorgeous ceremony of Mediaeval Easter. Originally, the sovereign would in person wash the feet of a dozen beggars and then distribute pennies to the deserving poor, the number altering each year with the age of the sovereign. The feet-washing ritual did not survive beyond the reign of James II, but the distribution is still made by the king in person etc.” Hindu kings used to distribute alms consisting of coins, wearing apparels etc. of the value of as many maunds of the body’s weight, in the case of each king, as weighed in a pair of scale-pans; *i.e.*, the weighing measure as put against the body of the king in the balance was in some

cases made of silver ; and then corn and grain, wearing apparels as well as loose coins were distributed among poor persons. This ceremony is performed even in our own age by Indian Rulers in their own territories in order to celebrate the occasions of their safe recovery from some serious or dangerous diseases ; as also the occasions of their Silver, Golden and Diamond Jubilees. Some rich persons, too, follow the example ; and washing of the feet at the time of distributing alms to Brahmans in particular and to all and sundry in general, is a common feature among Hindus and it happens to be recognized as a sign of honouring and worshipping of donees by donors, in every age.

This vow has both scriptural mandate and the sanction also of custom traditionally handed down ; the latter factor preponderating over the former. And in the vow of worshipping " Gauri-Mā " popularly known as " Gormā," which is mostly analogous to the ceremonies of St. Agnes' Eve, the former is a predominating factor.

It will be proper at this stage to deal with some vows of virginity celebrated under matriarchal supervision, as distinguished from patriarchal—the latter type of ceremonials being those at the time of marriage in particular. Moreover, these customary vows that are intended to be treated here, in some cases, are those of unmarried girls who celebrate them in their simple child-like innocence concentrating their attention on future marriage which is the main prop of life of Hindu womanhood. Really speaking, it is a kind of grave games, these child-like virgins play, but the solemnity of vows happens to be poured into these games at every stage of performances by inspiring the performers with ideas and ideals of holiness, fervent devotion and dignified broadened outlook on life. Besides, many rites

are common to the Hindus of Gujarat and Mahārashtra and Bengal, and only some of them to Madras also.

In observing these "Vratas" as vows, virgins generally conform to the traditional rules as guided by elderly matrons—Doshimā; and hence is the folklore known at this stage of Hindu life as Doshi cult (ડોશી યજ્ઞ). In it are to be found the practical conduct, while observing different vows, of morality and chastity—pure and simple; and no intervention of the priestly class is permitted, upto the very last stage. A regular atmosphere of frank devotion and faithful worship of "*impromptu*" gods and goddesses is created by different groups of maidens under the guidance of matrons—Doshi-Mās—to whom these groups owe allegiance. The main purpose of every vow is to purify the whole soul, through the mind and heart, by means of physical purification brought about by bathing in free air, breathing free oxygen and fasting or sometimes, eating of sparse food containing nothing exciting or exhilarating even in the smallest measure. Freedom and complete peacefulness of mind are essentially present; while these groups of unmarried girls tell different folk-tales as taught by Doshi-Mās, among themselves in different localities, either nearer home or near any flowing current of water such as that of a lake or a river or sometimes on the long verandah of a temple.

Several girls go in a group but no individual maiden is known to go alone, as a rule. These girls united in different groups sing songs of child-like innocence craving for purity and for making themselves merry while repairing to a reservoir of water for their purificatory bath in the early morning. Then they tell tales which are folk-tales and are the same as narrated by all groups among themselves.

Simple and natural, both these songs and folk-tales are significant of a deep meaning and are recited with zeal and zest so far as to be inspiring enough for each and all. Of course, they are both oft repeated, as well as on every day of the "Vrata"—vow to be observed by them. As a rule, in most cases, vows require fast as a principal factor; but after nightfall, in some "Vratas," good and holy food of a high class such as milk and milk products or fruits and roots (kanda-mūla = कंदमूल) are allowed to be taken. No doubt, virginity is seen to make manifest different grades of development of the innermost craving of wedding which is innate in every human heart; but the arrangement of "Vratas"—vows of austerity is so nicely made that age becomes a real measure and the classification of "Vratas" corresponds to the number of years already lived by the maiden and consequently becomes affiliated harmoniously to the various rites during the observances. In a joint Hindu family, young maidens of child-like innocence are taught, for instance, to pray to "Gauri-Mā"—the presiding deity over maidenhood—the spouse of god Shiva who propitiated Shiva himself to marry her by virtue of her austere penances. And yet she is conceived of as kind and merciful to maidens and capable of being easily pleased so far as to grant whatever boons the worshipping virgin might pray for :—

“કંથ દેભે કલ્યાણરે ;  
 નથુંદ દેભે સાહેલડી ;  
 સાસુ દેભે બુખાળવાં ;  
 સસરો દેભે સવાદીઆ.”

So sing these maidens observing "Vrata". In these four short lines, moreover, in a very simple and

pure and natural form the fourfold boons prayed for signify that when in future the worshipping maiden would be united with a husband, the match should be adequate enough and suited to each other. In few sententious words, the pith and marrow of blessings to make a householder's life happy in all possible ways in a joint family is expressed, as will be understood from the free rendering here below :—(1) May you bless me with a husband of peaceful manners even though he be a good earning member ;—(2) bless me, secondly, with husband's sisters without any feeling of superiority complex ; (3) bless me also with mother-in-law who being well-affording, would have appetite for a variety of food in the round of different articles of menu ; (4) and lastly with father-in-law, who would be peace-loving but a good epicurean in home-life. The maiden thus chooses the blessings of peace and prosperity for herself in the future household, in all possible ways.

It appears a truism to assert that all conceptions rise to the length of choosing Vishnu—as incarnated in Shri Krishna—perfect human Avatāra—in marriage. Even the basil plant called Tulsi is known both in folklore tales and scriptural texts as having been so far elevated as to be represented as the wedded wife of Vishnu. She is also represented as having undergone many and varied austere vows for the sake of this marriage ; because Vishnu—or, rather the human form Shri Krishna—is the god of protection or preservation. Letting alone the philosophical sense of evolutionary stages of vegetable life rising to consciousness in order to recognize the soul in the human body, it can be easily observed that marriage amongst Hindus is an event in life that brings about an important



evolutionary stage in the human organism in worldly life. Accordingly maidens pray for a husband of Shri Krishna's type—the acme of perfection in a householder's life, after the unique pattern of Tulsi Mā; and it is she who is invoked during the performance of certain plain and simple rites dedicated to her. She is supposed to descend to the rescue of individual maidens like a “god in the machine” (*deus ex machina*) and help them most suitably.

Stripping bare and perhaps weeding and pruning out very difficult parts of scriptural ceremonials, these maidens have got their own easily practicable and extremely simple rituals to perform. These start with a familiar conversation (*tête-à-tête*) as it were, held with the divine motherhood—Tulsi, the self-same Basil plant—thus :—

तुलसी मा, तुलसी मा,  
मत छो, वरतोला छो.

“O ! Divine mother Tulsi, instruct us—our group of virgins who have approached you—in the traditional lore of undertaking an austere vow of securing a suitable husband for our future life.” To this the Tulsi mother is supposed to reply as an ordinary test of their firmness by saying :—

तमथी मत थाय नहि,  
ने मतनो महिमा पणाय नहि.

meaning to say, “No ; you cannot observe a rigid vow, and with your fresh teething age of child-like innocence, you are not able to comprehend properly the gravity and solemnity of thy vow.”

Now, the devoted but rather refractory group of virgins speak out all together :—

अय तोय छो,  
न थाय तोय छो.

“ Even if we are incapable of performing the rites attached to the vow owing to our ignorance, you must, we pray, initiate us into the secret of the vow ; this is what you deserve to do, treating us as your own children.” Then she proceeds to initiate and instruct them into the mode of performance which is, in brief, as mentioned here below :—

On the 11th bright half of the month of Ashádha, a thread of cotton is to be taken, seven feet long, and seven knots have to be tied at the interval of one foot each, in the presence of and facing against the Solar-Disc—these seven knots represent the seven steps—सप्तपदी Saptapadi—of the full-fledged marriage ceremony celebrated at the age of puberty ; and the Sun also plays a prominent part even then.

Next, the group of virgins is asked to relate the real traditional account of how Tulsi was united in marriage with Vishnu ; one virgin reading the recital in a sing-song fashion and others of the group repeating at every stage the burden of the song, “ 'Tulsi Mā'—“ Oh, divine mother, how good and merciful you are.” All this is to be done before breaking fast every morning soon after bath ; but if the recital is omitted, all food is to be omitted. Again, it should be recited near a pipal tree, as reaching the ears of maidens, near to the bed of Tulsi plant, a ghee-lamp—a small lamp fed by clarified butter—should be placed by the side, and all virgins of the group should take their seats as facing the sun.

This vow is to be observed for five consecutive years, each year is meant to be celebrated by giving away in alms something symbolical of a householder's pros-

perous life thus :—1st year, the alms to consist of sweet balls and extra quantity of ghee should be given away—પહેલે વરસ લાડવો ને ગાડવો, આવે ચોખ્ખો જન્મારો—the aspiration to be fulfilled being a pure and chaste birth; that is to say, ghee which is believed to be the highly perfected essence of chaste life and sugar with wheat, the richest of food must form the chief part of alms. This is the form of feeding the poor when life is prosperous.

The 2nd year alms consisting of a pot full of Mung corn (not pulse) so as to preserve health during prosperity thus :—

બીજે વરસે મગનું કુંડું,  
આવેરે એવા તથુ ઉડું (રૂડું v. 1.)

The 3rd year of the performance is meant to be celebrated by alms consisting of rice with husks and the winnowing basket, so as to produce domestic peace and happiness in the future household. The 4th year the alms consisting of small petticoat and bodice should be given away, with a view to secure a good number of brothers and sons—earning members to fill up the domestic coffers. The 5th and the last year, sweet food and richly cooked dainties are to be given away, with a prospect to secure the ceremonious initial invitation from Shri Krishna, as the husband ; thus :—

ત્રીજે વરસ સાળ ને સપડું,  
આવે રે સંસારનું સુખડું;  
ચોથે વરસ ચરણાં ચોળાં,  
આવે ભાઇ પુત્રની ટોળાં;  
પાંચમે વરસ ખીરે ખાંડ ભર્યાં ભાણાં,  
આવે ન્યાં શ્રી કૃષ્ણનાં આણાં.

Now, it is worth while to relate the folk-tale dedicated to this vow ; and it runs thus in its purport:—

There was a Brahmana whose only daughter used to carry out the Tulsi Vrata in a very simple way all alone in an isolated place, where there was a good flourishing bed of Tulsi plant-growth. After many days had elapsed, the divine Tulsi mother put forth an infant girl of few hours old ; so that when the maiden arrived at her usual place, she was astonished to see the infant. With all natural simplicity, she asked the plant: O divine Tulsi-mother, how is it that I see the infant here ? The reply which was audible but appeared to proceed from an invisible speaker purported to say:—She the maiden-devotee need not be afraid ; it was her own infant.

The next day the infant began to thrive by means of nourishment supplied by hen-sparrows, female parrots and such other birds as pea-hens. Days and months and years glided by ; and the girl grew into a full-fledged maiden, when there turned up a king with his minister on a hunting tour ; and the king feeling thirsty went in search of water. They reached this very spot and found an enchanting beauty. When the astounded king thought of taking away the beauty to his harem, he happened to hear an Ākāsha-Vani, Bodiless Speech, forbidding him from the attempt ; but was asked, in addition, to return to the same spot on the virgin's reaching the age of puberty.

The king, accordingly, waited impatiently for the time, and when it was ripe opportunity, he repaired to the place quite ready for marriage rites. Having married her, he remained there and forgot the pompous enjoyments of palatial life in the midst of wild woodland life in which

his devotion to Tulsi-Mā remained unflinching. He used to worship the deity Basil plant with pomp and ceremony and enjoyed his days of life.

His queen, the first wedded wife, grew very jealous of this second wife and her spite and rancour were turned into revenge especially when the latter gave birth to four sons whose names ran as Aditya, Bhaskara, Bhānee and Divākara—आदित्यं भास्करं भानुं रवि पुत्रं दिवाकरं . Here, in passing, it will be but proper to remember that the Solar Luminary has great affinity for Tulsi, the Basil plant. And in scientific phraseology, it can be remarked that whereas during daytime all plants exhale oxygen and inhale carbonic acid gas and do the reverse act at night, this Basil plant all along and uniformly exhale oxygen for the animal kingdom. Hence is it that pots in which Tulsi is grown are with impunity and without harm allowed to be even in bed rooms.

Now, the senior queen and step-mother sent sweet balls containing poison to kill the four sons from the palace, under the pretext of presents ; but their devout real blood mother offered them to Tulsi-Mā who turned them into nectareous sweet balls. Two other attempts made were also foiled and the step-mother being baffled was sorely discomfited, and became infuriated so far as to go to the place, ready to murder all the four sons with sharp weapons concealed in her garments. When she reached the place where all the boys were playing, she tried to embrace all of them and one after another struck them with her dagger. But lo ! the blows on each son were turned into sweet garlands of beautiful flowers and she herself vomitted blood and fell flat on the ground to breathe her last.

There was consternation then; and cries and clamours of all those that were present there became unbearable. Tulsi-Mā herself appeared on the spot in human form and on the touching importunity of her own daughter, the co-wife of the deceased queen, brought the latter back to life; and she on her part repented of her folly so grievously and promised so earnestly to observe the "Tulsi vow" that the divine Tulsi mother permitted them all to go to their own city as well as blessed them all to live a happy life for a long period of time.

Thus the tale comes to an end. Young girls themselves recite it and recount the events every morning, each group having a leading reciter, whom others follow with devoted undivided attention. This is done in every house in 15 minutes' time, at the most.

Thus maidenhood is trained to entertain rich and noble idea and ideal about future marriage, and hugs the same to the heart conceiving of Shri Krishna as husband throughout their unmarried state of life.

Thus ends the "Tulsi vow," out-topping all other vows of virginity.

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# ON THE "ADONIS GARDENS" OF LOWER BENGAL:

BY SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, ESQ., M.A., B.L.

## PART I.

### A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF GREEK CULT OF ADONIS AND OF THE INDIAN CULT OF THE SUN-DEITY.

In the mythology of the ancient Greeks, Adonis is described as being a young man possessed of remarkable beauty, and as being the favourite of the goddess Aphrodite (or Venus). According to one ancient Greek myth, he was the son of the Syrian king named Theias by his daughter named Smyrna (or Myrrha) who had been inspired by Aphrodite with incestuous love. When Theias discovered the truth, he was about to slay his daughter. But the gods took pity on Smyrna and metamorphosed her into a tree bearing the same name, that is to say, into the Myrrh-tree.

After 10 months, the tree burst asunder ; and out of it was produced Adonis. Being charmed by the baby's exquisite beauty, Aphrodite concealed the new-born infant in a box and made him over to Persephone for being nursed and molly-coddled by her.

When the child grew up and Aphrodite demanded him back from Persephone, the latter refused to give him back to the former. Thereupon an appeal was made to Zeus, who decided that Adonis should spend a third of the year with Persephone, and a third with Aphrodite, the remaining four months of the year being at his own disposal.

According to the version given in Ovid's *Metamorphosis*, Adonis was killed by a boar ; and this version was followed by Shakespeare.

Festivals called the Adonia were held, every year, in honour of Adonis at Byblus, and also, from the 5th century B.C. onwards, at different places in Greece. The main object of this festival was to express sorrow and grief for the death of Adonis who was generally represented by an effigy which was subsequently thrown into the water.

In the form of the "Adonia" Festival, which was celebrated at Athens, a noteworthy rite, which was performed therein, was the formation of what were known as "*Adonis Gardens*" which were nothing but pots sown with seeds. These seeds were forced to grow artificially. But the seedlings in the "*Adonis Gardens*" withered away soon.

The formation of these "Adonis Gardens" bears a strong resemblance to the under-described rite, which is performed in Lower Bengal on the occasion of the "*Itu*" Festival (इतु पूजा).

The *Itu-Pūjā* (इतु पूजा) is celebrated, so far as my knowledge goes, only in Lower Bengal and commences on the *Samkrānti* (संक्रान्ति) or last day of the Bengali month of Kārttik [कर्तिक (October-November)] and is concluded on the *Samkrānti* or last day of the Bengali month of Agrahāyana [अग्रहायण (November-December)] of every year. The name "*Itu*" (इतु) of the deity, who is worshipped on this occasion, is a corruption of the word "*Mitu*" (मितु) which is, again, a corruption of the Sanskrit word "*Mitra*" (मित्र), this last word being the name of the Sun-god. This being so, the *Itu-pūjā* is nothing but the worship of the Sun-god and is, most likely, performed to ensure the growth of bumper crops and to secure prosperity resulting from good harvests. This *pūjā* (पूजा) or worship, is performed on the last days of the Bengali months of Kārttik



and Agrahayana and on the intervening Sundays, that is to say, on 6 days in all.

The offerings presented to the Sun-deity on the occasion of this *pūjā* or worship are some miniature clay jugs and cups which are colored white and adorned with drawings, on the outside thereof, of lines and spots of a reddish brown color. These are called "*Itur Bhānd*" (इतुर भाण्ड) or "the Sun-god's earthenware". But the most important offering is that of an earthen saucer or pan which is filled with mud from the bed of the river Ganges and sown with the "Five Cereals" (पञ्च शस्य), that is to say, with the five kinds of seeds, namely, (1) barley, (2) pea, (3) māsh kalāi pulse [माष कलाई (*Phaseolus radiatus*)], (4) mug pulse [मुगेर डास (*Phaseolus auratus*)] and (5) mustard. Sometimes corms of the edible arum (*Colocasia antiquorum*) are also planted, along with the aforementioned five kinds of seeds, in the Ganges-mud in the earthen pan or saucer. These miniature seed-plots or "*Adonis Gardens*" are irrigated with water on the 6 days of worship mentioned above. The seeds, as also the corms of arum, sprout and grow up into small plants. According to one view, these clay jugs and cups (which are filled with water) and the earthen pan or saucer containing the seedlings and the sprouting corms of arum, symbolise or represent the Sun-deity.

The rites, with which this worship of the Sun-deity is performed, are, very likely, the same as those performed on the occasions of worshipping the other deities of the higher Hindu pantheon.

After the *pūjā* has been finished on the last day of the month of Agrahāyana, the "saucer-gardens" with the plants growing in them, which I may appropriately

describe as the "*Adonis Gardens*" of Lower Bengal, are thrown away into a river or tank. The miniature clay jugs and cups, which are called "the Sun-god's earthenware", are distributed as playthings among the children of the household.

[In this connection, I must say that the ceremonies performed at the festival of Adonia, which is held in honour of the god Adonis, have been interpreted by competent European scholars to be a charm for promoting the growth of vegetation, while the throwing of the "*Adonis Gardens*" and of the images of the god Adonis into the water, has been interpreted by them to be another charm to ensure the falling of copious rain. (Mannhardt has pointed out other European parallels of these rites.)]

The question now arises : Why are these. "*Adonis Gardens*" of Lower Bengal planted and presented as offerings to the Sun-god Mitra ?

In reply to this question, I must say that "Sympathetic magic" or Imitative magic" lies at the basis of the planting of these miniature seed-plots or "*saucer-gardens*".

It is a well known scientific fact that sunshine is essentially necessary for the growth of plants and, for the matter of that, of all kinds of food-crops. In order that the Sun-god may be so far propitiated and coaxed as to promote the growth of vegetation and to grant bumper crops, a miniature garden is planted in which the action of the Sun's rays in the shape of promoting the growth of vegetation is imitated by forcing the seeds and corns to grow.

I am, therefore, of opinion that the similarity between the "*Adonis Gardens*" of the ancient Greeks, and the miniature "*saucer-gardens*" of the Bengalis is complete.

It will not be out of place to state here that there is an analogous custom prevalent among the Bihari Hindus. The Brahmans of Bihar sow barley-seeds in earthenware pans on an auspicious day in the Hindi month of Bhādo (August-September) and water them. These pans are kept inside a room, and the seeds are forced to grow up into seedlings. On the Dasahārā day (which corresponds to the *Bijayā Dasamī* day of the *Durgā Pūjā* of the Bengalis) in the Hindi month Kuār (September-October), these seedlings are uprooted by the Brahmans and presented with blessings to Hindu gentlemen who tie the same to their scalp-locks; while those presented to the Bihari ladies are tied by them to their chignons.

I do not know whether or not the Bihari Brahmans perform any rites on the occasion of planting and watering these "*saucer-gardens*". Further researches are required on this point.

## PART II.

### AN OFFICIAL ACCOUNT OF THE ITU PUJA AND THE LEGEND CONNECTED THEREWITH.

For purposes of comparison, I am giving herein below another account of the *Itu Pūjā*, which has been published in an official document. It is as follows :—

The *Itu Pūjā* begins on the last day of the month of Kārttik (October-November) and continues upto the last day of the following month (Agrahāyana). *Mitra* is the god of day, i.e., the Sun. The word "*Itu*" is a degenerate form of the word "*Mitra*." "*Mitra*" came to be commonly called "*Mitu*" and thence "*Itu*". Small earthen pots are filled with water and placed in an earthen saucer over which the "*pancha śashya*" (or the five grains) is scattered.

Females listen to the *vratha kathā* about the origin of the festival, abstain from taking fish with the meal and worship the sun in the hope of obtaining the realisation of their cherished wishes. On each Sunday of the month of Agraḥāyana (November-December), these ceremonies are repeated till on the last day of the month, the pots are immersed in a river or tank after the usual *pūjā*. This *pūjā* is largely found in Bengal.\*

#### THE LEGEND.

The *vrata kathā* or legend, which is recited and listened to by the females performing this worship, is as follows:—

Once upon a time, there lived a very poor Brahman and his wife and their two little daughters named Umno and Jhumno, who maintained themselves by begging. One day, the Brahman expressed a desire to eat some *pithās* or pastry-cakes and procured, by begging, the ingredients for making the same. While the Brahman's wife fried the cakes in a pan, her husband kept a record of the number thereof by tying knots in a piece of string. During the night, the two little daughters ate one cake respectively. In the morning, the Brahman was served with the cakes and while he ate them one by one he untied a knot in the cord one by one. At last by untying the knots, he found that two of the cakes were missing, which he concluded must have been eaten by his two daughters Umno and Jhumno. He, therefore, made up his mind to punish them and, on the pretence of escorting them to their paternal aunt's house, took them to a forest and abandoned them there. When night came, they wandered about in search

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\* Vide An Alphabetical List of the Feasts and Holidays of the Hindus and Muhammadans. Calcutta: Superintendent, Government Printing, India. 1914. Page 39.

of some refuge which they did not find. At last, they came to a huge banyan tree (*Ficus Indica*) and told the tree their tale of distress and asked for a place of shelter within its big trunk. Thereupon the trunk of the banyan tree split open and, within this cavern, the two poor girls spent the night, safe from the attacks of the wild beasts. In the morning, the trunk of the banyan tree opened up, and the two girls, emerging therefrom, left the forest and came to a tank on the margin of which some divine damsels were performing the *Itu Pūjā*. On their arrival there, the water of the tank dried up and many other evil omens occurred. By a device taught by the divine damsels, the tank again became filled with water. According to the instructions of these divine damsels, Umno and Jhumno bathed in the tank, performed the *Itu Pūjā*, and, having obtained from the Sun-deity the boons of wealth and prosperity, went to their paternal house. On their return home with the aforesaid boons, the poor Brahman and his wife became rich and began to live in affluent circumstances.

Thereafter one day, a Rājā and his minister, accompanied by a large number of retainers, soldiers, horses and elephants, were passing on a hunting expedition past the Brahman's house. The whole party, having become very thirsty, halted near the Brahman's house and called for a drink of water. On this, little Jhumno who was much cleverer than her elder sister Umno, brought water in a little earthen jug (which had been dedicated to the god *Itu*) and gave it to the Rājā and his followers to drink. 'Seeing this small jugful of water, the Rājā became very angry. But Jhumno assured him that this water would be enough to quench his thirst and that of his followers. Accordingly

the Rājā and his men and beasts began to drink it. By the miraculous intervention of the god Itu, the more they drank, the more water came into that little jug.

Being very much pleased with the good offices done by Jhumno and her sister Umno, the Rājā and his minister expressed a desire to marry them. Accordingly, with the Brahman's permission, the Rājā married Umno; while the minister married Jhumno. Before starting for their husband's houses, Jhumno worshipped the deity Itu or the Sun-god with due rites and ceremonies. But Umno did not worship his deityship. So when Jhumno arrived at her husband's house, prosperity and affluence began to reign there. While on Umno's arrival at the Rājā's palace, all kinds of misfortunes and disasters began to happen in his family and in his kingdom.

Seeing these misfortunes and disasters, the Rājā came to the conclusion that his queen Umno was the source of all evil happenings and, therefore, ordered his executioner to take her to the place of execution and slay her. But taking pity on her, the executioner took her to Jhumno's place and left her there. While, having slain a dog, he showed its blood to the Rājā, telling him that it was the Rāni's blood. Umno lived with her sister, unknown to the Rājā and to the minister.

Jhumno enjoyed uninterrupted prosperity and happiness on account of her unflinching devotion to the deity Itu. At last, Umno was induced by her sister Jhumno to worship the same deity with due rites and ceremonies. This she did; and, as the result thereof, prosperity and affluence again returned to the Rājā and his kingdom. He, again, remembered his Rāni who, he supposed, had been

slain, but he was informed that she was living. Whereupon the Rājā escorted Umno from Jhumno's place with great eclat. Having arrived at the place, Umno continued to worship the deity Itu with great regularity. Thereafter Umno and Jhumno lived with their husbands in uninterrupted happiness and prosperity and were ultimately translated to heaven.

### *Epilogue.*

1 and 2. I went to gather sticks (in the jungle), and heard the legend of Itu.

3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9. What benefit accrues from hearing the legend of Itu? On hearing it, the poor gets wealth; the sonless person has a son born to him; the bachelor gets married; the man who has forgotten his family-members, remembers them again; the blind has his eye-sight restored to him; at the last moment of his or her life, he or she goes to heaven.

(Another version of the foregoing legend has been given by me in my paper entitled : "*On the Cult of the Sun-God in Mediaeval Eastern Bengal*" which has been published in *The Journal of the Department of Letters of the Calcutta University*, Vol. XV, pages 149 to 200.)

### *Remarks.*

There are three interesting incidents in the foregoing legend about the origin of the *Itu-Pūjā*, which call for a few remarks.

(1) The first incident is that in which the Brahman is described as taking a piece of string and tying knots thereupon for recording the number of *pithās* or cakes that were being fried by his wife. This practice of tying knots

or strings or cords for the purpose of keeping a record of numbers and dates, is prevalent among many primitive peoples and shows that the foregoing legend originated in ancient times. Among the Santals of the Santal Parganas, this practice is prevalent. Whenever a marriage or other ceremony takes place among them, and guests have to be invited thereto, knotted cords containing as many knots as there are days remaining to the coming off of the event are sent to the latter for their intimation. The guest unties a knot daily as each day passes away until the last knot is reached, which shows that the day fixed for the event has arrived. On the occasion of taking a census among the Santals, knotted cords have been or are still used for recording the number of persons in each family.

Similarly, Bengali women-folk tie a knot in the corner of their *saris* to remind them of a particular thing or event which they are likely to forget.

With the aforescribed knotted cords should be compared the "Quipus" of the ancient Peruvians. These "Quipus" were differently coloured cords suspended from a top-band. Knots were tied in these cords. These knotted cords were originally used for recording numbers. Subsequently when the knowledge of making and using them became advanced, these "Quipus" were made more complicated and were used for recording historical events, laws and edicts. Recent researches have shewn that they were used for recording a certain amount of astronomical information and were also probably used for magical purposes as were done among the Mayas of Mexico.

Similar knotted cords were also used among the Chinese, the Tibetans and other peoples.



(For further information about the Peruvian "Quipus" see the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 14th edition.)

(2) The second incident is that in which the two girls Umno and Jhumno are described as requesting the banyan tree to give them shelter in the trunk, during the night, whereupon the said tree split its trunk open; and the two girls found shelter for the night in the cavern thus opened to them. This is an instance of the folk-belief which represents trees as sometimes doing benevolent acts. There is a parallel example in the folk-lore of South Bihar, which is to the following effect:—Once upon a time, an embankment in the kingdom of a high-caste Rājā in South Bihar, was breached by a flood; and it became urgently necessary to have it repaired during the night. Thereupon the Rājā proclaimed that he would give his daughter in marriage to whomsoever would repair the breached embankment in the course of a single night. A low-caste man, assisted by a number of labourers, undertook to do this, and began to work hard at the job. He finished the work before the dawning of the day and became entitled to claim the hand of the Rājā's daughter in marriage. But the Rājā would have been degraded by giving his daughter in marriage to this low-caste man. *In this predicament, a pipal tree (Ficus religiosa), which grew near the embankment in question, assumed the form of a cock and crowed three times, thereby intimating that the day had already dawned; and that the master-workman had not been able to put his finishing touches to the repair work even by that time.* Seeing this and fearing that the Rājā would punish them severely for having failed within the prescribed time, they fled away. Thus he was saved from the predicament of giving his daughter in marriage to a low-caste man.

Here we find that the *pipal* tree played the part of a benefactor.

(3) The third incident is that wherein we find that the Brahman's younger daughter Jhumno supplied the thirsty Rājā and his whole party with a very small jugful of water which, though hardly sufficient to quench the thirst of a single man, yet miraculously sufficed to satisfy the thirst of the whole party. This incident has an analogue in the ancient Greek myth of Philemon and Baucis. When the gods Jupiter and Mercury paid a visit to the old couple Philemon and Baucis for testing their hospitableness, the latter served their divine guests with a small quantity of milk, some thin and watery honey and a few shrivelled grapes. But the poor host and hostess were astonished to find that, as soon as the guest drank out the jugful of milk, the jug became filled with milk to the brim again, that the honey had become thicker and yellower than before, and that the few shrivelled grapes had become charged into a large bunch of plump and luscious grapes.

In the legend of Itu, the small jugful of water became inexhaustible by the grace of the Sun-deity ; while, in the Greek myth, the milk became inexhaustible, the honey became thicker and sweeter, and the grapes became plump and luscious by the beneficent influence of Jupiter and Mercury.

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## SRI VATSYAYANA.

AN ETHNOLOGICAL STUDY OF INDIA OF 300 B.C.

BY M. K. SETT, ESQR., B.A. (CANTAB), BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

A prophet is supposed not to have honour in his own country, but the added insult of being banned and buried into oblivion was reserved for Vatsyayana under English rule.

Vatsyayana wrote the Kama Sutra, a treatise on sex, which has been acknowledged by the whole world as a masterpiece. Our highest praises would but do ordinary justice to the work. There is nothing of pornography in it. It is written coldly, dispassionately, as much as a treatise on magnetism or atomic structure. It has been translated into hundreds of languages. The world's encyclopædias burst into songs of praise and triumph and yet due to the vagary and caprice of a collector, a governor or a viceroy of India, an ukase passed many years ago forbids the book to be translated into English or to be sold. And it speaks volumes for our back-boneless legislators that not one has arisen to ask the powers-that-be, why the Kama Sutra has been banned when the sonnets of Shakespeare, the Bible and hundreds of books on sex are sold openly.

Sri Vatsyayana lived about 300 B.C. according to our scholars. European scholars following some curious and obscure mental process turn the Indian chronology from B.C. to A.D. regardless of even astronomical proofs. Whether it has any connection with the legend of "the white man's prestige," I do not know. Soon we shall

have a genius to prove that Buddha and Zoroaster lived in the middle ages and that Sanskrit is a dialect of English.

Vatsyayana, the master of Sexual Science, was also a master of ethnography. In this paper I do not wish to touch the sexual side. I will use the colours, the canvas and brushes of Vatsyayana and paint you a picture of India of 300 B.C.

### THE MAN.

A young man of middle or upper middle class was expected to have mastered Dharma, Artha, and Kama. Dharma meant duty in its widest sense. It included every kind of moral and religious duties. Artha meant wealth and the acquisition of wealth—in our modern parlance, business.

Kama meant the science of love. It was a science as precise as medicine. It was considered worthy of as much serious study as astronomy or mathematics. Kama embraced in its scope anatomy and psychology.

The ancients thought that being born with the full complement of organs was not enough to know Kama. Men and women were as different as the two poles. And to be united in perfect love, every man had to study his own body and also that of the woman. Every man had to know his own psychology and that of the woman.

Every woman was also expected to know herself and the male brute. If we moderns did likewise there would be more happy marriages, and divorce court judges would not go into premature senile decay due to overwork as they do in this century of grace.

'There is an old folk-tale in which a ponderous father before he kicks out his son says, "You oaf, you are too

vicious for Dharma, too stupid for Artha, but perfect for Kama. Master Kama (kicks him) be perfect in Kama (kicks him)."

The oaf does that to such good purpose that he not only masters Kama but the king's daughter into the bargain.

To-day lounge lizards and gigolos have taken the same advice; and I am informed, it is the only profession where there is no unemployment.

Sri Vatsyayana advises the study and practice of Kama in youth. When the man arrived at the sad state of "would, but could not", to practice Artha. Much further down the same sad road when the end is in sight; to practice Dharma. A young man is asked to go out into the world and carve a career for himself. The carving was done by his trusty sword, often the parting gift of his family. To-day the poor and dishonest parent gives his parting son, a six-shooter and a ticket to Chicago, U.S.A. How little has the world changed in two thousand years?

This is the description of a house.

"He should take a house in a city or a large village. This abode should be situated near a lake or stream, and divided into compartments for different purposes. It should be surrounded by a garden, and also contain two rooms, an outer and an inner one. The inner room should be given to the women. The outer room should be perfumed; it should have a bed, soft and luxurious, covered with a clean white cloth, low in the middle part. Flowers should be strewn on it, with two pillows, one at the top and the other at the bottom..... On a stool should be placed ointments for the night ..... for perfuming the mouth.....

on the ground a jewel box.....; from an ivory peg should be hung a lute; on a table a drawing board, with paints and brushes; a board for throwing dice. Outside the room there should be captive sweet-singing birds; and in the garden a whirling swing and an ordinary swing; a bower of sweet-smelling creepers, with a raised parterre for sitting."

This description seems to be of a house of a man of moderate means. He now goes on to advise such a person on the daily routine. He is asked to get up a little before sun-rise and attend to his personal hygiene, clean his teeth, apply ointments and perfume his body; collyrium his eyes, colour his lips with Alacktaka (a red lac preparation), wear his jewels, and see the effect in a long mirror.

Meals it seems were taken between 10 A.M. and 2 P.M. and in the evening "after sun-set and the first quarter of the night".

After the morning meal he is asked to attend to his business; unfortunately what kind of business we are not told. Whatever it was, it could not have taken much time for he goes on to advise on, "teaching his birds and animals tricks". After this hard work, the gentleman is asked to take a nap or forty winks. When he wakes up he again attends to business, which happens this time to be singing and music.

At nightfall his house is prepared for guests by being perfumed and with the burning of incenses. He now sits on his day bed, and receives company of his friends, pimps and courtesans.

This description is an account of every-day life. He now speaks of the occasional duties of a householder.



"Pilgrimages, debating societies, drinking parties, excursions, games and trials of strength."

It seems itinerant musicians went from town to town challenging the local talents ; for the householder is asked by our sage "to judge fairly and reward suitably". Strangers within the gate are invited and well entertained, according to their stations in life. He is asked to feed the hungry, and to nurse or to have nursed at his expense the strangers and the needy. It seems those who had wealth gave, and those who had it not, took from the more fortunate. Broken down, once upon a time, seigniors sponged shamelessly on the rich. Men of brains and a quick or witty tongue were always well received. A gambler was supposed to be following an honourable profession. A pimp did not hide his light under a bushel, as he does to-day by calling himself, "a teacher of deportment, a doctor, a business man, or a gentleman living on his income." It was an age of live and let live. We even cannot boast that social climbers and gate crashers are our very own inventions, plagues and pests. Vatsyayana says, "you will know them from their well filled purse, loud and vulgar ways and their want of grammar." It seems they were made to pay the bills and their guests bull-baited them into the bargain.

The man of the world knew Sanskrit well ; and he had also to speak and write half a dozen dialects.

Our guide was a true friend. He has chapters of advice on the selection of a mistress. Then, as now, a man could not lay claims to distinction unless he could boast a couple of pet mistresses. Vatsyayana might have well divided his chapters into "Mistresses for profit and

Mistresses for pleasure." In the former category he might have placed : "A man's friendship is of great importance to you and if you cannot achieve (?).....seduce his wife....."

"Your king has a bitter enemy. You have to spy on him..... seduce his wife."

"Your king does not look kindly on your petitions..... seduce his wife or mistress" (and if capable, the whole harem I suppose).

There is a long list of ladies to be undone for pleasure and not for profit.

And most important, a long list of ladies who are not even to be touched with the proverbial tongs. "The leper, the insane, the criminal, the too-white-of-body, the too-black-of-body," etc.

Now comes the question "whom shall we select for our friends?" Our guide gives a list, and right royal democratic selection it is. "The washerman, the barber, the scent dealer, the wine merchant, the beggar, the goldsmith, the story teller or bard," etc.

I almost forgot to write about the cellar. "The drinking of wine and other intoxicating liquors, should be arranged for in each other's houses. There they should drink various kinds of wines, such as Madhu, Maireya, Sura and Asava, which are of bitter or sour tastes, as also drinks made from barks of various trees, wild fruits and leaves. Courtesans should be invited to these parties. Sometimes such parties should be held in gardens or other lonely spots in the country."

### THE WOMEN.

Women were not in purdah. They had more freedom ; more freedom than even the modern American girls and



women. High class ladies wore hardly any clothes. If they did on rare occasions, they were clothed in Decca Muslin. A real Decca Muslin was said to be so fine that seven-fold layers laid on the ground should not hide the ground. Those who have seen the Ajanta frescoes know what the costumes for women were. Jewels, flowers and nature's finest garment, the skin. By contrast servant girls and the women of the people wore thick clothes that perfectly hid their beauty ; perhaps not to rival their less attractive mistresses.

In the evening girls would promenade the streets or go out into the country, alone or with other girls. It all depended on their innocent or criminal intents. They had their rules and regulations for flirting.

Our sage is a rank feminist. His sympathies are for the women. Perhaps the poor innocent even called them "*The Weaker Sex*." All the time he asks for equal treatment for them. He teaches them all the tricks of the trade of life; from a courtesan squeezing a man dry of his last anna, to a married woman horning her husband, or a woman to cheat in a game. He teaches her how even if wrong, to get the best in a love quarrel, how to kick and pull the hair of a man and then make him ask her pardon.

It is touching, his solicitude for women. He treats them as gently as nurse a sick child.

Girls in general had to study more than now.

Vatsyayana gives a list of 64 subjects. We truly wonder at the list. A greater jumble of profound and

trivial would be hard to beat. It is a long list but here it is :

1. Singing.
2. Music.
3. Dancing.
4. Performing items 1, 2, 3 in unison.
5. Writing and painting.
6. Tattooing.
7. Adorning idols with coloured grains.
8. Arranging flowers.
9. Studding walls with glass or precious stones.
10. Arranging beds according to the status of guests.
11. Making music out of glasses filled with water.
12. Staining, dyeing and colouring garments, hair, nails and bodies.
13. Storing and accumulating water.
14. Preparing poisons.
15. Stringing the rosaries, necklaces, garlands and wreaths.
16. Adorning the person with flowers and jewels.
17. Art of jewel making.
18. Making perfumes.
19. Acting on the stage.
20. Making and arranging theatrical scenes.
21. Sleight of hand and tricks.
22. Attaining quick and nimble fingers.
23. Cooking.

24. Making sweet drinks and intoxicating liquors.
25. Sewing and embroidery.
26. Making animals, flowers, etc., out of yarn or thread.
27. Asking riddles.
28. Reciting poems; or games of slokas (verses).
29. Mimicry and imitation.
30. Reading aloud famous authors.
31. Reciting difficult or hard to pronounce sentences.
32. Telling stories.
33. Making furniture from canes and reeds.
34. (Note: I am afraid it cannot be reproduced.)
35. Carpentry.
36. Engineering, building houses and sanitation.
37. Valuing precious stones.
38. Chemistry and mineralogy.
39. Faking jewels to enhance their value.
40. Gardening and treating the diseases of plants.
41. Cock, quail and ram fighting.
42. Teaching birds to talk and sing.
43. Massaging.
44. Writing in cyphers.
45. Speaking, by changing or adding letters at the beginning, middle or end of a word.
46. Knowledge of Sanskrit and other dialects.
47. Making toys out of flowers.

48. Memory training.
49. Making weapons of war.
50. Making of charms and spells.
51. Prosody.
52. Art of disguising.
53. Rhetorics.
54. Gymnastics.
55. Phrenology.
56. Gambling.
57. Gambling with dice.
58. Make ordinary things look valuable, *e.g.*,  
cotton into silk.
59. Etiquette.
60. Mathematical recreations.
61. Sculpturing.
62. Art of wars.
63. Making artificial flowers.
64. Learning and the use of vocabularies.

Poor girls. Every girl had to master the 64 branches of knowledge or her chances of a suitable marriage were small indeed. Bachelors are warned against the "fat heads". Courtesans were supposed not only to know the 64 arts but know well enough to teach.

#### COURTESANS.

There were many classes. From the lowest strumpets of ports to the Hetaerae who had princely establishments. In Jatakas their pomp and regal modes are well pictured. Many a king was poor in comparison. They rode

on elephants and had a small well-armed army to follow them when they went out. They made or ruined many great men. Their Darbars were more thronged than that of their king. And more often than not, the king himself was found at their levee. They gave alms and largesse generously. They were the patrons of arts and letters. Towns became famous because a famous courtesan had her palace there. They boasted famous poets in their ranks. Some of them made wise laws and at all times were laws unto themselves.

Vatsyayana gives pages of advice to them, and there is nothing in Roman or Greek classics to equal it.

#### MARRIAGE.

It seems there was no child marriage. There was perfect freedom for the woman to accept or refuse. "Love at first sight" seems to have been a common affair. The man usually found out what the woman thought. If the woman was willing, the man approached a marriage broker who could be a washerman or woman-barber or a common friend. Inclinations were supposed to give way to eugenic exigency. We have seen the list of women who were forbidden to be taken as mistresses. The marriage prohibition list is even longer. Space will not permit me to give the complete list. One important fact must be stated. Males and females were divided into four categories and given names of animals from their supposed resemblances to humans. The division was based on size of the body, qualities of the mind and temperament. Certain combinations are allowed, others are forbidden. There is a well of deep thought and perfect scientific knowledge in the sanctions or otherwise.

## CONCLUSIONS.

It was an age of perfect democracy, more perfect than the modern American democracy. A beggar, if worthy, sat at the right hand of a king by his right of brains or moral worth and often took even the throne of the king. A king was a king as long as he had the confidence of his subjects.

Poverty was no bar to the enjoyments of life, as I mentioned above, nor did it hamper the worldly advancement of a man. Brain powers and saintly character had the greatest meed. Courage and strength came lower down the list of reward or respect; except in the times of war or national crisis.

It was an age of live and let live. They studied deeply nature, and the nature of men, and evolved a philosophy that was liberal, just, and free of cant. Thus was written a glorious page of Indian history.

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# ORIGIN OF S'ALAGRĀMA AND TULASI WORSHIP.

By P. G. SHAH, ESQ., M.A., B.Sc.

## 1. INTRODUCTORY.

The object of this paper is to examine from the point of view of Anthropology the widely prevalent practice of worship of S'alagrāma among the Hindus at present. In doing so, we have to pass through a survey of various mythological beliefs which priestcraft has woven round a perhaps more ancient and simple practice existing among simpler people under simpler conditions of life and work. The subject is of special interest, not only from the point of view of comparative mythology, but also of comparative religious practices of primitive people connected with stone-worship. There is also ample scope for speculation as to the phallic origin of the custom, while the cognate mythological stories provide one of the most romantic and poetic background connected with the worship of the Divine. The work of interpreting the present in the light of the past and of examining our religious practices with the help of modern anthropological standards and technique is one of great importance and should receive increasing attention of learned societies in India. This should be done with the modern spirit of Science and interpreted with the sympathy and knowledge which can be obtained only by persons living in the community which practises the worship.

## 2. DESCRIPTION.

S'alagrāmas are fossil cephalopods (ammonites) and are found chiefly in the bed of the Gandaki river, a moun-

tain torrent which, rising in the lofty mountains of Nepal, flows into the Ganges at Shālagrāmi, a village from which they take their name. The portion of Gandaki river where these sacred stones are found is sometimes called S'ālagrāma river or Chakranadi.<sup>1</sup> In appearance they are small black shiny pebbles of various shapes, usually round or oval, with a peculiar natural hole in them (called *Dwārā* or *Vadana*) with spiral markings. These spiral grooves resemble the *chakra* or discus which is an emblem of Vishnu. They are often flecked and inlaid with gold or pyrites. The four special places in the Gandaki river where the sacred stones are generally picked up are zealously guarded and are leased out by the Maharaja of Nepal, on certain conditions among which one is that the Maharaja has the right of retaining selected specimens. Each stone is carefully examined, tested with a hammer or tapped with the finger to disclose the Vadana or the hole, which may contain gold or a precious gem, and through which spiral markings may be observed. The value of true S'ālagrāmas varies according to the shape, colour and markings of the stone and the price of a single S'ālagrāma may be so enhanced after further tests have been applied that even a lakh of rupees<sup>2</sup> will fail to purchase it. The trade in this object of worship was once upon a time so keen that fraudulent S'ālagrāmas with the marks of the hole and the spiral were imitated out of rounded black stones of similar colour and shape and sold by *Bairagis* or mendicants. Besides the Gandaki, there are other sources of S'ālagrāma, viz. the Nerbudda Valley and some places near Dwarka.

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1 Oppert—Original Inhabitants of Bharatvarsha (1893), p. 350.

2 Thurston—Castes and Tribes of Southern India (1909), pp. 823-825.



### 3. THE WORSHIP OF S'ĀLAGRĀMA.

The stone is worshipped as a representative of Vishnu, by followers of the Vaishnavite sect. The followers of S'iva generally do not worship this stone but the Smartas and followers of the Vaidik S'aiva persuasion do so. The stone is generally worshipped not singly but in groups and in some temples like the one at Tirupati<sup>1</sup> the fixed idol of Vishnu is decorated with a necklace of S'ālagrāma stones. One peculiar feature of this worship is that the stone does not require consecration or invocation of God in it. It must be remembered that among the Hindus the idols are not worshipped till the spirit of Godhead is established in it (*Prāna-pratishtha*) by either invocation or by means of mantric rites. But in the case of S'ālagrāma no such ceremony is required, the stone being considered self-created (*Swayambhu*).<sup>2</sup>

S'ālagrāma is one of the famous five gods (*pañchāyātana*) whose worship as a group was initiated by the great S'ankaracharya evidently with the object of uniting the various Hindu sects against Buddhism. These are (i) Bānalinga representing S'iva, (ii) S'ālagrāma for Vishnu, (iii) crystal for the Sun, (iv) a red stone for Ganapati, and (vi) a brown stone for goddess S'akti.

The worshippers of S'ālagrāmas first bathe or wash the stone, reading mantras and then offer flowers, incense, light sweetmeats and water, repeating incantations which may be vedic mantras in the case of Brahmins or

1 Thurston and Rangachari—Castes and Tribes of Southern India (1909), p. 827.

2 Martin—"The Gods of India", p. 242; W. J. Wilkin's Hindu Mythology, p. 398; also Gopinath Rao's Hindu Iconography.

simple hymns (bhajans) in the case of non-Brahmins. After worship the offerings are eaten by the family.

In the hot months, to cool the sacred stone, a vessel full of water and with a small hole at the bottom is sometimes suspended over it, as in the case of the Linga of Śiva. The water which drips over the stone is carefully collected and no orthodox Brahmin will eat his food until he has thrice sipped it. There is another variation of the practice in which the water is not dripped over the stone, but the stone itself is placed in a vessel of water and the water thus consecrated is used as holy water. The marks on the stone are shown to dying men, in the belief that the concentration of the mind on this object will ensure the soul a safe passage to Vishnu's heaven *Vaikuntha*.

#### 4. MARRIAGE OF S'ĀLAGRĀMA WITH TULASI.

A peculiar feature of the worship of S'ālagrāma even at present is the annual marriage with the Tulasi plant on 12th day of the bright half of Kartika, *i.e.* middle of November. The ceremony is considered to be one of so great an importance that once upon a time the Maharaja of Orchha, a State in the Northern India, used to spend as much as rupees two lakhs on the occasion.<sup>1</sup> Even in ordinary families at present, the Tulasi plant which is generally kept in all Hindu houses and round which orthodox Hindu ladies go in right-handed movement (*Pradakshinā*), is worshipped with unusual devotion on this day. People will collect together and celebrate the marriage of Tulasi with Vishnu in the form either of a S'ālagrāma or if that is not available, with an

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<sup>1</sup> Sleeman—Rambles in Northern India.

ordinary lamp burning ghee. The family priests of the side both of the bride and bridegroom would go through all the ceremonies, treating Tulasi (Rādhā) as the bride and S'ālagrāma (Krishna) as the bridegroom. This ceremony is performed not only in villages but also in large cities like Bombay though with different degrees of religious fervour and ceremonial formality. This aspect of the worship of S'ālagrāma is of great importance from the point of view both of anthropology and of comparative religious culture, as it reminds us of both stone worship and tree worship, which are common throughout primitive races, and no attempt at solving the problem of the origin of the S'ālagrāma worship is likely to succeed unless this double aspect is steadily kept in view.

## 5. MYTHOLOGY.

Voluminous literature has evolved itself round this pair, S'ālagrāma and Tulasi, in Hindu mythology, particularly of the puranic period and several versions of the origin of S'ālagrāma are available. The simplest story is that connected with the planet Saturn and also with Hindu astrology. It is stated that twelve planets were created under the orders of Vishnu with the idea of regulating the affairs of human beings. When S'ani (Saturn) came into power he ordered that the Brahma—the creative God of the Hindu Trinity—should render personal service throughout S'ani's reign of 12 years. Brahma refuses to carry out the behest without the direct command of Vishnu: and so they approach Vishnu who postpones giving his decision till the next day. When S'ani (Saturn) approaches Vishnu on the next day for decision, Vishnu is unable to give a satisfactory answer

and conceals himself by taking the form of the mountain "Gandaki". S'ani, the all-powerful, becomes angry and takes the form of a worm and tries to dig Vishnu out of the mountain. The task is very heavy and takes S'ani more than twelve years to reach the bottom of the mountain; by this time his ascendancy ceases and he loses all power. Vishnu resurrects himself but blesses the mountain and S'ani by declaring that all the stones rounded off by S'ani's effort and containing the marks of the worm will be considered sacred and worshipped as S'ālagrāma.<sup>1</sup>

## 6. GANDAKI.

The Varāhapurāṇa<sup>2</sup> gives a more clever story about the sanctity of all the S'ālagrāma stones found in the river Gandaki. A woman called Gandaki is supposed to have pleased the gods so completely by her austerities that they are prepared to give the boon she desires. But when, like a true woman, she exhibits her motherly instinct, and requests that all the gods should treat her as their mother, they angrily refuse her request. This rouses the wrath of the austere woman and she gives out a curse that all the gods will be converted into worms. The gods in turn punish her to live the life of a river. These cross curses cause great consternation and they all approach Vishnu for a solution. Vishnu sides with Gandaki and grants her claims in a clever way. He volunteers to be the mountain Gandak, and orders the smaller gods to be mountain worms who are to carve out

1 See Col. Wilford's Essay on "The Ancient Geography of India" quoted by Dr. G. Oppert on the "Original inhabitants of Bharatvarsha or India" (1893), p. 357.

2 See Oppert—p. 357. See also Merutantra—5th Patala.

small stones out of the mountain and throw in the neighbouring river Gandaki. Thus the wishes and curses of Gandaki are fulfilled and the stones thus formed with the marks of the worms and rolled into the waters of the river are worshipped as S'ālagrāmas. The holiness of the place where S'ālagrāmas are found is thus secured : and the worm-like markings on the stones, get fully explained and sanctified.

#### 7. JĀLANDHAR AND VRINDĀ.

But the most romantic story about the sanctity of S'ālagrāma and Tulasi is found in various Puranas—Brahma Vaivarta and Devi Bhagavat and also in Padma Purana. The story is long and involved but the broad facts may be narrated in brief. During one of his famous fits of anger Mahādeva throws out a beam of fire against one of the Indras who has offended him unknowingly. To prevent its doing harm, it is diverted to the place of junction between the Ganges and the sea, where it takes the form of a child. The child is so vigorously crying that even when Brahma takes him into his arm, he is not quieted : on the contrary he shakes the beard of Brahma so forcibly that tears drop out of the eyes of the latter, who promises immortality to the child. Thus fortified by the tears and blessings of Brahma, this offspring of Mahādeva, who is called Jālandhar, becomes all too powerful when he grows up. He conquers all the gods and gandharvas and reigns supreme with the help of the Daityas. He marries a noble woman called Vrindā whose chastity is unimpeachable and is the main protector of Jālandhar's life ; in fact, the position is that as long as the wife remains chaste there is no risk to his life. Thus well protected his ambition knows no bounds, and at

the instance of the mischief-monger Nārada, he plans to capture Pārvati, the beautiful wife of Mahādeva. While Mahādeva is allured away by the music and dancing arranged for by the celestial servants of Jālandhar, the latter approaches Pārvati in the form of Mahādeva, but he is found out. Pārvati invokes the help of Vishnu and requests him to entrap Vrindā the wife of Jālandhar as the last step necessary to relieve the world of the tyrant. Vishnu successfully accomplishes the task with the help of two monkeys who first bring to Vrindā the head, arms and legs of Jālandhar who is reported to have been killed in battle; Vishnu in the form of an ascetic brings back Jālandhar to life. After this fictitious Jālandhar had lived with her for a few days, the woman finds out the deception and curses Vishnu that in his next life his wife will be stolen away by some Rakshasas of the same clan as Jālandhar and that his sole companions will be the monkeys. She then burns herself to death. By this time, Vishnu had become so fond of Vrindā that like a true lover he chooses to live in her ashes and refuses to go to his home.

The gods who were pleased at the death of Jālandhar are confronted with the problem of rescuing Vishnu back to his normal life. Here again Pārvati helps and gives some seed to be planted in the ash; out of these ashes springs the plant 'Tulasi' which later on transforms into a woman who seemed to possess all the beauty, grace and purity of Vrindā, and Vishnu shouts "Tuyā-Asi" "Thou art her equal". The beauty of this new creation keeps hold of Vishnu who forgets Vrindā into oblivion and returns to his abode. But here another trouble commences and Rādhā who is supposed to be the prime beloved of Vishnu becomes angry and curses Tulasi back to the mor-

tal life on the Earth. Here probably commences another version of the same story, in which Jālandhar the king of a foreign tribe is replaced by S'ankhachuda. Tulasi's love for Vishnu knows no bounds and she begins severe austerities to regain him. In spite of Brahma being pleased by her austerities, he grants her wishes only partially. She has first to get married to S'ankhachuda, who was already in love with her, and only after his death was she to reach Vishnu. S'ankhachuda was a powerful demon like Jālandhar the husband of Vrindā in the first part of this story. Like Jālandhar, S'ankhachuda becomes a tyrant and cannot be killed unless the chastity of his wife Tulasi is violated and unless he is deprived of the talisman (*kavacha*) which he wore round his neck. For freeing the world from this tyrant, Vishnu once again adopts similar devices, assumes the form of a Brahman and begs away the *kavacha* and then lives with Tulasi after assuming the form of S'ankhachuda. The story repeats itself, the real S'ankhachuda is killed and Tulasi becomes aware that she has been duped. She curses Vishnu to become a stone to be cut up by worms, but Vishnu does not wish to lose such a beauty. He invokes the help of Mahādeva who pacifies Tulasi and assures her that the present situation was the result of her own austerities. He further arranges for her celestial body to be transplanted to Vaikunth of Vishnu to live with him. But to satisfy the spirit of the curse uttered by her, he arranges that Vishnu shall have an earthly manifestation as a mountain which will cut up into small stones by worms, leaving the marks of a Chakra (the discus of Vishnu), these stones being worshipped as S'ālagrāma form of Vishnu. At the same time, he orders that the earthly representation of Tulasi will take the form of a delicate

plant the leaves of which are to be offered at worship, and without which nothing is acceptable to Vishnu. With cruel kindness he also orders that S'ankha (the conch-shells into which the bones of the<sup>1</sup> dead S'ankhachuda were converted) shall also be worshipped with S'ālagrāma and Tulasi, thus immortalising the eternal triangle.

8. The following passages<sup>2</sup> are of sufficient importance to be quoted in full :—

Tulasi when she discovers the fraud, addresses Vishnu, "Oh Lord, you are unkind to me and possess the heart of stone. You have fraudulently violated me and killed my husband. As you are hard-hearted like a stone, you will be worshipped in the world in the form of a stone." The merciful Hari consoles her using the words :—"O Chaste lady. You prayed for me for a long time. The lustful S'ankhachuda also had prayed for you and thereby obtained you as his spouse; and thus he enjoyed your society for a long time. I should now give you fruits of your devotion. You should now quit your body, take a celestial form and come with me. You will be converted in India into a sacred river called Gandaki. Let the clusters of your hair be converted into a plant called the Tulasi or the holy basil. The flowers and the leaves of this plant will be consecrated to the worship of the gods... The gift of one such leaf will bring the reward secured by the gift of millions of cows. Anyone dying with Tulasi leaf in his hands will be redeemed. Whoever with the Tulasi in his hand will break his vow or perjure himself will go to hell. But anyone who at the time of his death,

1 See also quotations from *Devi Bhagavata IX* in Oppert, loc. cit., p. 858.

2 *Brahma Vaivarta Purana—Prakriti Khanda—Chapter XXI*, translated by R. N. Sen, Pantui Office, 1920.



will get a drop of water with the Tulasi leaf will proceed to Vaikuntha." ..... "I too by your curse, will turn into a stone on the bank of Gandaki. At that place the worms called Vajrakita will construct my wheel within the stone. The stone, dark like a new cloud, which contains at one gate, four wheels and which is decorated with a wreath of wild flowers will be known as Laxminarayan ..... (here a description of several scores of<sup>1</sup> varieties of S'ālagrāma stone is given) ..... All sins of the world (including Brahman slaughter) are expiated by the worship of this stone. All holy deeds, consecration of a temple, performance of a funeral ceremony, worship of gods, etc., can be performed through this holy stone, or by ablution in the waters of this stone. Anyone who, while dying, will drink this water, will be emancipated and go to Vaikuntha, who by laying hands on this stone perjures himself or breaks his vow will remain in hell for millions of years, whoever separates the Tulasi leaves from this stone will suffer the pangs of separation from his wife from birth to birth. Whoever will dissociate the conches from the Tulasi will be deprived of his wife and health for seven births in succession. A wise person who will maintain the Tulasi, the conches and the S'ālagrāma at the same place will be dear to Hari (Vishnu)."

9. The mode of worship<sup>1</sup> of Tulasi is mentioned in Chapter XXII of the Brahmavaivarti Purana:—

"Whoever will adore Tulasi by reciting her eight names, viz. Vrinda, Vrindavani, Vishvapayani, Vishwapujita, Pushpasara, Nandini, Krishna Jivani and Tulasi, will reap the fruits of horse-sacrifice." Tulasi was

<sup>1</sup> See also Padma Purana—Uttarkhanda—122nd Adhyaya, p. 1584. of Anandeshram Edition, Poona, 1894.

born on the lunar day of the full moon in the month of Kartika, hence Hari has prescribed this day for her worship. Whoever will worship her on this day will be redeemed from all sins and go to Vaikuntha. Whoever gives Tulasi leaf gift in the month of Kartik will reap the fruits secured by the gift of ten millions of cows."

#### 10. LEGEND OF THE GOLDEN BEE.

The hole or opening of the S'ālagrāma is a very important feature, together with the chakra markings, and both are explained cleverly by being ascribed to the action of the legendary insect Vajrakita. The story goes that the divine Narayana (Vishnu) once chose to wander about on the surface of the earth in the form of a Golden Bee or Vajrakita. The gods seeing him whirling about with very great splendour, assumed also the shape of golden bees and approached him. The world surrounded by this swarm of bees was set awirling and whirled about to such an extent that Vishnu the protector became afraid of the consequences. He therefore assumed the form of a rock and stopped the moving of Garuda and of the gods. Garuda entered into a big hole of the rock followed by all the gods as bees who made themselves each a separate tenement for the conversion of the infidels.<sup>1</sup>

#### 11. EVOLUTION OF VISHNU WORSHIP.

The great variety of mythological stories about the origin of S'ālagrāma worship and its connection with Tulasi and Vishnu and the vast lore that has centred round this most popular deity of the Hindu Trinity show that his worship was very widely spread throughout the Indian

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<sup>1</sup> Oppert on "The Original Inhabitants of Bharatvarsha," pp. 345-346.

continent. But to get a connected idea, we must seek the steps in the evolution of Vishnu worship itself. In Rigveda, Vishnu is the Sun-god, who crosses the sky (pervades the Universe) in three steps—morning, noon and evening, at which times different prayers are offered. Yet he is a humble deity in the Vedic pantheon far below Indra or Varuna, or Agni. Even in Satapatha Brahmana XIV.1.1 (circa 1000 B.C.) when Vishnu succeeds in obtaining a sort of supremacy among gods, his head is cut off by Indra. During the supremacy of Buddhism in India (600 B.C. to 500 A.D.) Vishnu is not heard of as an important god; but he attains great importance and popularity in the subsequent millennium corresponding with Puranic period. Even there the tales of his valour in fighting Indra and in replacing the methods of sacrifice by simple worship betray the struggles for attaining the supremacy. His definite rank in the Hindu Trinity as the .....protector of the World, and as the only god capable of taking the trouble of going through human incarnations, is definitely established in the later Puranic period. The great number of religious sects in India, a large variety of Puranas written at different times of the year, and the vastness of the Indian continent itself, give a certain amount of fluidity in the conceptions of the various Hindu deities. S'iva is sometimes depicted as bisexual, the famous statue of Ardhanarishwar, a unique piece of art, being an oft quoted example of this character. But in the case of Vishnu, the variability of the sex is more frequent and well-known. In Rudradayopanishad<sup>1</sup> for example, Vishnu is identified with Uma. In S'ivarahasya there are at least three occasions when Vishnu takes the form of

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<sup>1</sup> See Oppert, loc. cit.

the beautiful Mohini—one connected with the famous churning of the ocean, another with the visit of S'iva to Doruka forest, and the third with the giant Bhasmasura. It is in connection with the last incident that Vishnu is supposed to have borne a son to S'iva; this son is named Harihara, a name connected with the Dravidian Ayanar, a village god very popular in the south of India. Vishnu no doubt represents the preserving principle in the Universe, but though preservation may be appropriately regarded as eminently a female virtue, and though the smārtas sometimes worship Vishnu as a female principle, there is no doubt that in the later stages he represents the most human and obliging of the Hindu gods.

The part played by Vishnu in killing Jālandhar is capable of an anthropological explanation, which I offer tentatively. Etymologically, the word Jālandhar means "holder of water", a cloud, and he may be identified with demon Vṛitra of R̥gveda who used to create trouble for the Aryans every year by capturing the Sun and the Dawn, and by holding back rain. The killing of this cloud-demon is the greatest of the exploits of Indra, in which he is helped by the minor gods notably Vishnu, Parjanya, Maruts (p. 261 of *Rigvedic Culture* by A. C. Das). The liberation of rain from the clouds by means of wind (the monsoon currents) under suitable atmospheric conditions is a phenomena which might have appealed to the pastoral Aryans, and a number of hymns and stories were evidently composed in this connection. Gradually these might have found place in the folklore of the people, out of which fine literary romances were composed in Puranic times. The conception of a chaste Tulasi or Vrindā as representing the electric and atmospheric conditions which help the

clouds to retain their contents and their shape, and the forcible removal of which is essential for the liberation of the imprisoned waters, appears to be a Puranic idea. The killing of the obstructor of rain, and the worship of Tulasi at the end of the rainy weather and before harvesting of the winter crops indicate definitely the agricultural nature of the origin of this worship.

## 12. S'ĀLAGRĀMA AND LINGA WORSHIP.

In the vedika linga-worship followed by the smārtas, the base immediately under the linga is assigned to Vishnu which is often otherwise represented to indicate the yoni, the emblem of the female energy. Even the S'ālagrāma stone which represents the Vishnu at present, has several forms which are attributed to various gods—six shapes are ascribed to S'iva, five to Brahmā, two to Vishnu and S'iva jointly, two to S'akti (*viz.*, Bhavani and Kundalini). It is useful to remember that the absence of rigidity in the names and functions of these deities through the Puranic literature is a sign of the vitality of the intellectual thought behind this worship which did not confine itself to stagnant channels. There are several points of similarity in the worship of S'ālagrāma which could be traced to the worship of S'iva in the form of the linga. This similarity is evidently the result of the fact that both linga-worship and worship of S'iva—the mahādeva (the great god) preceded by centuries the worship of the softer aspect of the Hindu trinity. Both S'iva-linga and S'ālagrāma are to be offered water in plenty and the sanctified water is considered sacred and purifying in case of both. Though Tulasi is supposed to be acceptable to both, the S'iva-linga has a special preference for "bilipatra" (the leaves of the

bel tree). The spiral of the serpent is a particular favourite of S'iva for decorating the neck, and the spiral groove—the Chakra, discus of the S'ālagrāma is closely connected with the same. These factors would indicate that so far as Hindu mythology is concerned, the worship of Vishnu in the form of S'ālagrāma was a later evolution than the S'iva-linga worship and possibly was a mere imitation though by way of protest. In fact Oppert is definitely of opinion that “the adoption of the S'ālagrāma stone by the Vaishnavas was made to mark their opposition to the worship of the linga”.<sup>1</sup> Yet to get at the secret of the origin of the S'ālagrāma worship, we must get into the ages beyond the appearance of Aryans in India and enquire with reference to similar practices of the aboriginal races in other parts of the world whether they have a common origin.

### 13. OTHER EVIDENCE.

S'ālagrāma is a Sanskrit word which has been interpreted in several ways. A stone as black and smooth as S'āla-tree may be called S'āla-s'ila or S'āla-grāma; or a group of stones placed under the S'āla-tree at the end of a village may be given this name. It is also derivated<sup>2</sup> from *sara*, chakra, discus of Vishnu, and *grava*, a stone. Sometimes the word is written in Sanskrit as Sāligrama and is then derived as *sa-ali-grama*, i.e. with a village (cluster) of bees, which leave several spiral markings. The occurrence of the word “*grāma*” indicates that the stone is seldom worshipped single—in fact that it has been enjoined that it should be always worshipped in groups. Whatever be the derivative meaning of the word, there is no doubt

1 See Oppert, loc. cit. p. 359.

2 Thurston—Castes and Tribes of Southern India, p. 328.

that it represents a period of Hindu culture when the Sanskrit language was highly developed. The occurrence of the word "*grāma*" (village) also suggests the idea of the stone fossil being a village god, like the *grāma-devatās* worshipped at present in rural India. It is also significant that neither S'ālagrāma nor Tulasi are mentioned either in Rigveda or in the Buddhistic or Jain literature or in the Mohenjo-Daro remains. It is evident therefore that it represents a development in the evolution of worship of Vishnu in the post-Buddhistic age; the various Puranas are full of stories explaining the worship of S'ālagrāma and combining with it the stories of beautiful Vrinda, the incomparable Tulasi etc. It is also clear that it represents the attempt of Brahmanic influences to purify some of the phallic ideas associated with the S'aivite linga-worship, and that in doing so, some of the older practices of the tree-worship and stone-worship prevalent from the older races of India were assimilated. Whatever may have been the origin of fossil worship in other countries of the world, the Hindu worship of this ammonite is unconnected with any phallic idea. To avoid even the remotest idea of phallic origin, some of the scriptures seem to insist on worship of the S'ālagrāma in groups.

#### 14. STONE-WORSHIP.

There could be no doubt that before the S'ālagrāma stone was accepted as an object of worship in Hindu mythology, and before it was recognised as an emblem of Vishnu, it must have been noticed by the aboriginal inhabitants of India as an object worthy of special attraction. To get at the source and the manner of this attraction, we should see how similar objects have attained religious

significance in other parts of the world. From the earliest periods of human life, stone-worship has satisfied the inner cravings of the primitive human heart in search of some one superior and helpful.

The *menhir* or the standing stone giving rise to the obelisk, the stone-cross, and the statue or the idol; the *dolmen*, or stone-table, or the altar; the *cairn*, the heap, the tope, the stupa; and *cromlecks* or stone circles used as sacred enclosures for early temples with central *menhir* as statue or *dolmen* as altar—these all convey a growth of the spirit of worship which can be traced from the Hebrew literature to the Old Testament. These types are found all over Europe and even now command respect and reverence. The writer noticed this as recently as in 1935, during his visit to the Druidical remains at Stonehenge in England, when he was prevented by his English co-visitors from standing on one of the stone-tables even for the purpose of taking photographs. Similarly the sacred block of stone, called the Scone, which forms a part of the chair in which the Sovereigns of Britain sit at their coronation, has ancient history of sanctity behind it. According to an accredited legend<sup>1</sup> it was originally the ancestral god of the Irish Scots of the heathen period and was carried by them first to Argyllshire and thence to Scone from where it was carried by Edward I to the Westminster Abbey. There is a legend that this "Scone Stone" is the sacred stone of Destiny and that wherever it is found "the Scots in the place must reign".<sup>2</sup>

1 Grant Allen—*Evolution of Idea of God*, p. 46.

2 The writer ventures to throw out an idea that the above legend has something to do with the saying that the "Irish conquered the British Empire for the Scots to rule for the benefit of the English."



## 15. WORSHIP OF ROUND STONES.

The worship of smooth round stones is common in many parts of the world. In Samoa for example, "smooth stones picked up out of the bed of the river were regarded as representatives of certain gods, and wherever the stone was, the god was supposed to be. One resembling a fish would be prayed to as a fisherman's God. Another resembling a yam, would be the Yam God. A third, round like a bread-fruit, the Breadfruit God—and so on. This was also common in Europe. In certain mountain districts of Norway, upto the end of the last century, the peasants used to preserve round stones, washed them every Thursday evening, smeared them with butter before the fire, laid them in the seat of honour on fresh straw, and at certain times of the year steeped them in ale, that they might bring luck and comfort to the house."

## 16. S'ĀLAGRĀMA, A ROUNDED STONE.

Round stones are worshipped in India even now as village gods. They are placed at the crossing of roads, in the midst of fields, at the outpost of the village as guardians, protectors and benefactors ; sometimes they are blackened by being anointed with oil, but more frequently they are painted red with vermilion or red lead. Rounded stones are uncommon except in beds of the bigger rivers and they naturally excite the curiosity and wonder of the common folk, who help to create folklore round each one of these. At the outset they were worshipped as objects of wonder and curiosity, evidently in search of some object as fertility, prosperity or security. The primeval S'ālagrāma must have been a simple round stone worshipped among several others in the neighbour-

hood of the various mighty rivers of India. Some of the travellers must have noticed that the rounded stones found in one of the tributaries in the higher regions of the Ganges (known as Gandaki) had special features, a hole in the centre through which spiral markings were visible. These features must have given a special value to this class of stones, but it is evident that no special value was attached to them till the Puranic age. As mentioned elsewhere, neither in the Vedic nor in the Buddhistic nor Jain literature, is there any mention of the worship of S'ālagrāma or its attendant bride Tulasi; though it is evident that stone-worship and tree-worship were common among the aboriginal tribes long before the advent of the Aryans on the Indian soil. The excavations at Mohenjo-daro, which have brought to light the buried civilisation of the Indus Valley about 3000 years before Christ, and before the age of the Rig Veda, have shown that Lingas, Yonis, Ring-stones, and also several kinds of betylic stones and ring-stones were fairly common, and are illustrative of the religion of the people at that period. Out of these, the ring-stones<sup>1</sup> with spiral markings bear a striking resemblance to the S'ālagrāma with its central opening and spiral markings. The ancient tribes that inhabited India and were conquered by the invading Aryan hordes, were neither inane nor lacking in vigour. There was constant conflict between the sacrificial religion of the Vedic period and the idolatrous practices of the indigenous population and signs of this conflict are visible in the terms Suras and Asuras, Devas and Rakshasas. Such a conflict is universal in human history and has been noticed in

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1 See Plates OLIII, 84, 87, 12, CLVII 86, in Vol. III of Mohenjo-Daro by Sir J. Marshall, and page 58, Vol. I.

various parts of the world and in various stages. In Greek, Roman, Hebrew or Semitic mythology, we notice the same conflict between idolatrous and non-idolatrous people, the one set calling the others heathens or pagans. In these conflicts it is generally observed that it is not the victor that wins but the vanquished, who owing to his internal strength is treated as an equal by the victor. Thus the old blocks of stone worshipped as fetishistic objects by the heathens of Greece, were absorbed in Greek mythology as Hira, or Apollo. Islam, in a like manner, was forced to accept and adopt the worship of Kaaba, the huge black stone in the holy place at Mecca, which was adored by the older idolatrous tribes of Arabia. The Egyptian religion gave a new meaning to the pillar and monolith originally worshipped as a grave-stone by shaping it as an obelisk to represent a ray of rising Sun.

### 17. FOSSIL WORSHIP.

A similar transformation must have taken place in the case of the S'ālagrāma stone, which has additional peculiarities besides being a rounded stone. The peculiar nature of the markings, and the large varieties of shape and colour, arising from the fact that it is a fossil remnant of an extinct species of small animals, must have attracted special notice of the ancients in India. The beautiful aspects of the shape must have been taken advantage of at the time of the Hindu revival on collapse of Buddhism in India and interesting mythological stories evolved at the time. But S'ālagrāma is not the only fossil that is worshipped even in India. Fossils were treated as creations of the devil and the Christian priests at one time prohibited the study of

fossils which supported the doctrine of evolution, giving the reason that they were idolatrous objects to be shunned at all costs. Belemnite, a fossil similar in appearance to the club wielded by Vishnu, has been worshipped in Europe. The conch-shell—the S'ankha—which at present finds place in many drawing rooms and on office tables, has attracted notice since ancient times. It is also absorbed in the worship of Vishnu and as described in one of the mythological stories mentioned above, is supposed to be an object of equal sanctity with the S'alagrāma. The Cornish milprove or adderstone which is much valued as a protector against vipers is a ball of coralline limestone, the sections of the corals being considered to be entangled young snakes. In Italy, pieces of stalagmites full of cavities are valued as amulets.<sup>1</sup> The bangles made out of conch-shells are found in the relics of the Indus Valley civilisation; and even though such bangles are worn at present by the Hindu ladies of places as far distant as Calcutta and Dwarka without any relic of sanctity attached to it, the ancient nature of the practices merely points to the connection between conch-shells and ammonite shells and Tulasi plant, which gradually attained sufficient sanctity and holiness to be idealised into religious worship.

The fossil name ammonite may be connected with the worship of Ammon—Ammon-ra—Amenra, among the Egyptians. Ammon was identified with the sun as “Amen-ra” and is represented with a ram's head surmounted by the disc of the sun to symbolise the generative power of the sun.<sup>2</sup> “Ammon (the hidden one) who was a local God of Thebes under the 12th Dynasty came gradually

1 Crooke—Popular Religion and Folklore in India, p. 165.

2 The Worship of the Dead—by Col. J. Garner, London (1904), pp. 46-47.

to the front till with the establishment of the imperial power of the 18th Dynasty at Thebes, he took the name Ammon-Ra-Suntern the King of Gods.”<sup>1</sup> This shows that Ammonite was connected with sun worship even in Egypt and Greece and it is not difficult to trace the connection of both with the discus of the sun, which afterwards came to be identified with Vishnu in Hindu mythology. Apart from this connection, like other fossils ammonites particularly of the very small variety with fine spiral markings are considered lucky and are worn even on watch chains by gentlemen in Europe. The lucky character of the S’ālagrāma stone may thus be initially connected with the beautiful markings of the stone itself which was later on strengthened and fortified by the Puranic stories constructed on existing beliefs and practices.

#### 18. TREE-WORSHIP.

The connection of the S’ālagrāma stone with the beautiful and useful little domestic Tulasi plant opens up new fields of enquiry. Tree-worship like stone-worship has been common throughout the world. “All plants are sacred—this principle of the followers of Zoroaster lies at the root of all plant lore, all tree cults. All plants possess the gifts of immortality and health. The subject enters into every form of religion and its ramifications are traceable in different aspects and degrees from the tree of life to the maypole. It rests on the earliest conceptions of unit of life in nature in the sense of communion and fellowship with the divine centre and source of life.”<sup>2</sup>

The sacredness of the oak, willow, poplar (to Hercules), cedar, laurel, myrtle (to Venus), vine and ivy in Greek

1 Encyclopædia Britannica, 14th Edition, Vol. VIII, p. 59.

2 Cyclopædia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. XII (1921), 448.

mythology is well-known. Similarly also of the cypress among Persians and acacia among Arabs, the ash and the elm among Scandinavians (as emblems of first man and woman). The trees considered sacred for use as sacrificial posts by the Vedic Aryans were numerous and included pipal (Ashwatha, *Ficus Religiosa*), Bel (Bilva, *Aegle Marmelos*, Woodapple), Vad (Banyan tree, *Ficus Indica*). The ancient inhabitants of the Indus Valley (Mohen-jo-Daro) considered the *pipal* tree, the *nim* tree and acacia tree as sacred.<sup>1</sup> The tree of life and tree of knowledge of the western nations have a counterpart in Hindu mythology in the tree of wishes—Parijat, Kalpadruma—which like the Cow of wishes (Kamadhenu) provides the gods with celestial plenty. Haoma of the Persians, the Soma of the Hindus, the Ambrona of the Olympian gods were means of sacramental communion, a partaking of the tree of life.<sup>2</sup>

#### 19. BASIL PLANT.

The Tulasi plant (*Ocimum Sanctum*) is very similar to the basil plant being of the same genus but is not identical with it, as has been supposed by several writers. The basil plant is one of the several menthaceous plants especially species of *Ocimum*, common or sweet basil (*Ocimum Basilicum*) or bush basil (*Ocimum Minimum*) or mountain mint (*Kohlia*). *Ocimum Basilicum* has been regarded in Europe to have great occult and curative powers; as far south as Sicily, the inhabitants keep the plant in the window of their houses.<sup>3</sup> Kincaid in his "Tale of the Tulasi Plant" (pp. 2-3) mentions the belief that it grew on Christ's grave. On St. Basil's day women take sprigs of

1 E. Mackay—*The Indus Civilisation* (1935), p. 74.

2 *Cyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. XII, p. 448.

3 Monier Williams—*Religious thought and life of India*, p. 333.

this plant to be blessed in church, and to be used for various purposes, *e.g.* throwing on the floor to secure luck for the ensuing year, eating a few leaves for avoiding sickness and keeping with clothes to protect them from rats, insects and moths. He also mentions a reference to Keats' "Isabella" where she plants the basil plant over the exhumed head of her murdered lover:—

" She wrapped it up, and for its tomb did choose  
A garden pot, wherein she laid it by  
And covered it with mould, and over it set  
Sweet basil which her tears kept ever wet."

It is an ancient practice in Islamic countries to plant the basil—a variety different from the 'Tulasi'—on the tombs of the loved ones. There is the famous couplet of Nurjahan, the widow of Emperor Jahangir, forbidding the planting of a tree or burning of a lamp on her tomb. These instances support the view held by Grant Allen<sup>1</sup> and other writers that tree-worship originated with the practice of the savages to bury their dead under the shade of big trees; it is well-known that young trees or shrubs are frequently planted on graves in all countries. The funereal origin of the tree-worship may be thus common among people who bury their dead but it is difficult to connect the worship of the 'Tulasi' with funereal practices. The only incident of this nature is that in which the 'Tulasi' grows out of seeds planted in the ashes of the 'Vrinda' when watered by the tears of the love-lorn Vishnu. Among the 'Mundas', there is an existing practice<sup>2</sup> of using sapplings or branches of Keond tree (*Drospus Melanaxycon*) in funereal rites, even though their dead bodies are

1 Evolution of the Idea of God, pp. 57-58.

2 S. C. Ray—Mundas and their country, pp. 468.

usually cremated and not buried. Yet in none of the aboriginal tribes, Tulasi is worshipped at present except in a manner borrowed from the Hindus. I understand from (Father now) Mr. Verrier Elwin who has stayed among Baigas in the Central Provinces backward forest districts that although they are asked to take Tulasi plant for its medicinal qualities and for avoiding mosquitoes, they do not feel attracted to it. My friend Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Ray of Ranchi assures me that he is aware none of aboriginal tribes in India worships the Tulasi plant, though some of those on Chhota Nagpur Plateau dip Tulasi leaves and copper in water and drink it as a purificatory potion. Nor is he aware of the marriage of Tulasi and S'ālagrāma practised among any of the aboriginal races of India. Therefore the funereal origin of Tulasi worship may be completely disregarded.

## 20. MARRIAGE OF PLANTS.

On the other hand, there is abundant proof of the marriage of S'ālagrāma and Tulasi being considered a Hinduised version of a more ancient agricultural practice of marrying plants as a measure of increasing fertility of the fields or garden. Relics of tree-worship in Europe have been traced by Sir James Frazer<sup>1</sup> to the marriage rite connected with fertility of the fields which is practised by the marriage of the bridegroom and bride selected for the purpose. The ceremony of the artificial fertilisation of the date palm by shaking the pollen of the male tree over the flowers of the female is noticed among ancient peoples like the Assyrians, Moors and the Arabs. The marriage of trees in India is an ancient custom connected with the same fertility rites. For example, the mango tree is

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<sup>1</sup> The Golden Bough, Part I, Vol. II, p. 25.



married either to a tamarind<sup>1</sup> tree or to a Jasmine creeper before the first fruits of the mango tree are tasted by the owner. It is quite likely that both S'ālagrāma and Tulasi worship originated from this ancient ceremony of consecrating new fruits or crops. Sir Henry Elliot<sup>2</sup> describing this ceremony of marriage of Tulasi with S'ālagrāma mentions that it is performed in honour of newly planted orchard without which it is not proper to partake of the fruit. The ceremony as practised at present is evidently an Aryanised form of a more ancient practice followed among aboriginal tribes. It is described as *Vanotsarg*, dedication of the orchard, garden or village groves and is similar to *Vrishotsarg*—the bull set free on the 11th day of mourning after death—and also to *Jalotsarg*, the consecration of a pond, well or a badli. The Aryan idea of consecration of all human effort by dedication to God is in a sense peculiar to Hinduism but finds a parallel in the Christian practice of saying grace before partaking of the "daily bread".

## 21. IS TULASI INDIGENOUS TO INDIA?

It has been stated that none of the aboriginal tribes in India are so far known to have adopted the worship of Tulasi; also it has been stated that the Tulasi is not mentioned in pre-Puranic or Buddhistic literature. These facts are probably connected with the opinion of botanists "that it is doubtful if the species *Ocimum Sanctum* ('Tulasi') is indigenous to India".<sup>3</sup> Yet the Tulasi plant is at present found throughout India, Burma and Ceylon and distributed

1 Monier Williams—Religious thought and life in India (1868). London, p. 335.

2 Memoirs and Folklore of North-West Provinces of India, by Sir Henry Elliot (1869), Vol. I, p. 332.

3 Watt's Dictionary of economic products of India, Vol. VI, Pt. II, p. 384.

to the Malay Archipelago, Australia and the islands of the Pacific. The occurrence of Ammonite fossil throughout the marine area of the carboniferous and cretaceous periods in countries may be merely an accident but it would not be an unlikely coincidence if the worship of the Ammonite fossil and Ocymum Sanctum (Tulasi plant) came from another country outside India. Fergusson has expressed the opinion that the worship of the Tulasi plant is another of these indications which point to a common origin of the two religions—Vaishnavism and Buddhism. It would of course be absurd to designate as tree-worship the adoration of such a plant as sweet basil, but descent from the Ficus Religiosa (pipal) to Ocymum Sanctum (Tulasi) is just a change as may be expected to take place when a dogma is transferred from one faith to another. Both symbolise the worship of the vegetable kingdom and are a part of that curious association of men with animals and plants which is so marked a characteristic of both Buddhistic and Vaishnava forms of faith.<sup>1</sup>

The worship of the Tulasi plant as such was not known in the Indus Valley civilisation and yet tree-worship was quite common in that civilisation. At Mohen-jodaro and Harappa two forms of tree-worship were represented—worship in the natural form, or in the human shape, with human attributes. Tree-worship was essentially a characteristic of the pre-Aryan not of the Aryan population and the tree spirit must have loomed large far more important in prehistoric days among the peoples who originated this worship than it did in Aryanised India, where tree-worship inevitably subordinated to alien or semi-alien cults.

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<sup>1</sup> Fergusson—Tree and Serpent worship, p. 71.

In Vedic times, tree-worship had taken a different shape. As people who were forest dwellers and pioneers of agriculture and who believed in sacrificial rites, they utilised the big trees like the S'ami tree, Bel tree, and other trees for sacrificial stupas. There was of course no occasion to worship a little domestic plant like the Tulasi, but the sense of tree-worship was present.

## 22. CONCLUSION.

Viewing the problem from the anthropological point of view of either stone-worship or tree-worship, the conclusion is clear that both S'ālagrāma and Tulasi worship are eminently the fruits of Hindu religious life, and came into prominence during the Puranic period. There is no doubt that compared to the high ideology of Vedic religion and of the Upanishads, the Puranas betray a lower level of intellectual thought, but written at a time when Hinduism was just reviving from the struggles with Buddhism and Jainism and was feeling the early inroads of Arab invasions, the religious practices had to be made very simple, easy and attractive. It is quite possible that in this process some of the older practices of the aboriginal races were incorporated into Hinduism. It is however strange that no direct evidence is available of this contact in the present case. Yet as the highest service which search for knowledge can render is to ask more questions and suggest more research, the question that is still to be answered adequately is what is the missing link between the Hindu worship of an Ammonite fossil like S'ālagrāma or a garden plant like the Tulasi and the stone-worship or plant-worship of aboriginal races either in India or outside India.

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## CASTE IN TRAVANCORE.

BY L. A. KRISHNA IYER, ESQR., M.A.

The Indian caste system has no parallel in the world. No social question has engrossed so much public attention and has given birth to so much literature as the origin of caste, and yet it can hardly be said that its genesis has been truly unearthed. Distinction in society exists in other countries as well, but nowhere is one's birth made the basis to determine one's position in society. However low may be the social status of the family in which a man is born in other countries, he can by dint of his merit and ability rise to the highest rung in the social ladder. In India, the rigid caste rules prevent one from attaining this position. The existence of such a social system despite the attempts of great social reformers for its removal is viewed by other nations as a blot on the Hindu civilization, though it had its origin in the remote past.

The caste system is said to have existed among the Egyptians, the Medes, the Persians, the Iranians, and the Etruscans. While it has become extinct in other countries, it has reached its acme of development in India. Far from being the source of all troubles leading to a degree of social disunity, the system has, in the words of Sir Henry Cotton, rendered most important service in the past, and still continues to sustain order and solidarity. "The permanence of the brahmanical castes was largely due to the fact that they adequately fulfilled the function of preserving the social values of their people as they were expressed in their everyday life. The system was at once

the bulwark and the most stable institution in Hinduism.”<sup>1</sup> In the words of Professor Rapson, the institution was essentially Brahmanical and it has spread with the spread of Brahmanism.<sup>2</sup> The division of labour and the formation of an orderly society were the objects of its originators, but these, as may be gathered later on, were lost sight of in course of time, and a new principle was imported into it, namely, that a man’s purity of mind and body should be judged by the nature of the occupation which his forefathers had followed. This later interpolation into the fabric of the caste system has been the cause of fomenting much trouble.

#### MODERN CONCEPTION OF CASTE.

The caste is the fruit of the Hindu mind. The word is of Portuguese origin and is derived from “casta” meaning breed, race, or class. It corresponds to Jāti which means birth or descent. Its main characteristics are a belief in common origin held by all members and the possession of a traditional occupation. It may be defined as an endogamous group or collection of such groups having a common name bearing the same traditional occupation, claiming descent from the same source, and commonly regarded as forming a single homogeneous community.<sup>3</sup> In India, the caste system continues the customs of antiquity.

#### THE ORIGIN OF CASTE.

The origin of caste is one of the most perplexing problems in the social history of India; and it has been differently interpreted by different scholars. All agree in

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1 Pitt-Rivers—*The Clash of Culture and Contact of Races*, p. 85.

2 Rangachari, V.—*Prehistoric India*, p. 189.

3 Anantha Krishna Iyer, L. K.—*Lectures on Ethnography*, p. 95.

ascribing to caste extreme antiquity and regard the system as the artificial product of the Brahmanic hierarchy. The majority of the Indians consider that the sequence of literary monuments must correspond to historic evolution and reflect its phases. They discover caste in the hymns. Haug and Kern show that castes were well known at the Vedic epoch and even earlier. There is another body of scholars who conclude from the silence of the hymns that the epoch which these dates back knows nothing of castes and that the movement can therefore take shape only later. Sherring has shown nothing in caste beyond the political cunning of ambitious priests who fashioned to their own ends the constitution of the Hindu world, while Ludwing, a great Vedic scholar, has discovered classes, but not castes. The views of the orthodox school shall first be considered.

#### CASTE IN THE VEDA.

The Indian tradition as to the origin of caste is accepted as an article of faith by all Hindus. According to the Rig-Veda, reckoned as the oldest of the Vedas, there are four castes which originated from the Supreme Being. The Brahmans originated from his mouth, the Kshatriya from his arms, the Vaisya from his thighs, and the Sudra from his feet. The Brahmins are the teachers and instructors, the Kshatriyas are the warriors of mankind, and the Vaisyas are to provide food for the others. The creation of Sudra indicated that he is the servant of others. Similar references to caste are found in Satapatha Brahmana, the Taithirya Brahmana, Vajaseneya Samhita, and the Atharva Veda. Outside this system, there remain the barbarous and despised people called the "Mlechas". In

the stage of development portrayed in the law books, the system had not hardened into the rigid mechanism of the present day. It represents caste in the making, not caste as it has since been made. "It represented only classes and this can be proved by statements in the *Srauta Sutra* of *Drāhyana*, and in the *Puranas* regarding the functions of the priests and warriors." Winternitz has drawn attention to the separation of functions of the priest and the king from the very beginning, a fact unknown among other civilized nations of the world.<sup>1</sup> "It is said that, before the end of the Rig-Vedic period, a belief in the divine origin of the four orders of men was firmly established, but there are no references to the sub-divisions of these orders."<sup>2</sup>

It may not be out of place in this connection to state that the word "Varna" in the Rig-Vedic times is employed in two opposing phrases, *Arya Varna* and *Dasa Varna*. The word "Varna" was therefore employed to distinguish between two different and hostile peoples one characterised by whiteness, the other by the blackness of colour. Mr. A. C. Gupta goes a step further and says, "colour or varna became the distinguishing mark of men engaged in different occupations."<sup>3</sup> The Brahman who generally stayed at home performing the sacrifices and attending the spiritual culture remained naturally white-complexioned. The Kshatriyas who were engaged in warfare in active duties in connection with the government of the

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1 Ramaprasad Chanda—*Survival of the Prehistoric Civilization of the Indus Valley*, pp. 8-18.

2 Rapson—*Cambridge History of India—Vol. I—Ancient India*, pp. 34-55.

3 Gupta, A. C.—*The Rig-Vedic India*, p. 315.

country became naturally a shade darker than the Brahmanas. The Vaisyas who tilled the lands and reared up cattle, and were engaged in trade and manufacture, were of a still darker complexion than the Kshatriyas. The Sudras who had at first belonged to the nomadic tribes without settling down to any sort of occupation for a living and had been in a state of moral development became necessarily darker still to the verge of darkness. Colour therefore became the index of occupation of caste or tribe, and the word "Varna" afterwards became synonymous with caste.

In the next period, the period of Yajur Veda and the Brahmanas, are formed the divisions of Aryan society into four classes with distinct functions. "Ancient Hindu polity at the time of the compilation of the Satapatha Brahmana (1300 to 1000 B.C.) was based on a rigid hierarchy. First came the king, the member of the Kshatriya class, then the priest, the Brahman, then the clansman, as he is called, the Vaisya, and finally the "outcaste" the Sudra who might be of royal blood. The great accumulation of rituals centres round the king. He is called the sacrificer and is supposed to perform the various rituals. Actually, the priest, the Brahman, is the officiant. The king and the priest represent that part of the community which is concerned with the carrying on of the ritual. The rest take little part."<sup>1</sup> The whole polity turned on division of labour. Blunt says that "throughout the Vedas, there is not a single reference to connubial or commensal restrictions to any of the characteristics of the modern Hindu system."<sup>2</sup>

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1 Perry—God and Man, p. 26.

2 Blunt—Caste in Northern India, Chapter II, pp. 14-15.



## CASTE IN THE BUDDHIST PERIOD.

The Jātakas contain an account of the Hindu society in the early Buddhist times. The colour distinction so prominent in the Vedas has faded into the back-ground, though its memory survives in word, Varna, used for the social classes, namely, Kshatriya, Brahman, Vaisya and Sudra. Here the Kshatriya heads the list and the Brahman is held inferior to the Kshatriya nobility. The Varnas have not yet become castes. The birth qualification has not yet developed to make them close corporations. Vaisyas and Sudras attain the rank of Kshatriyas. Any one can become a Brahman by becoming a priest. There is no endogamous restriction.<sup>1</sup>

The Institutes of Manu and the chief Puranas in their present form are ascribed to the golden age of the Sanskrit literature under the early Gupta kings (300-400 A.D.). The Brahmans and the Kshatriyas are shown as occupational. The Vaisyas and Sudras are not clearly defined. Manu's Institutes contain a fairly good account of the social system as it existed in his time. Many tribes and castes must have sprung up from foreign invaders after their adoption of Hinduism. In the earliest Buddhist period, the Kshatriya was supreme. In Manu's account, the supremacy passed to the Brahman. During the Buddhist period, the Vaisyas and Sudras were not to be found as pure castes nor did they represent groups anywhere. The real distinction existed only in the Vedic period. During the early period of the Brāhmanas, the distinction had almost vanished and in

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<sup>1</sup> Anantha Krishna Iyer, L. K.—The Mysore Tribes and Castes—Vol. I, p. 181.

later periods still more so. Gradually, the Vaisyas underwent a kind of social degradation.<sup>1</sup>

According to Her Weber, the organization of castes was fully developed at the time of the Brāhmanas. The four castes appear there as already established in their respective individualities and privileges. The dignity of a Brahman was the reward of knowledge and virtue rather than the privilege of birth. Senart thinks that it is an odd delusion to use such tales as documents of caste. Overtimid theories which dare not emancipate themselves from traditions are ineffectual and we must distrust those which are too vague or comprehensive.<sup>2</sup>

#### THEORIES OF CASTE : *Nesfield*.

Nesfield's conviction was that function and function only was the foundation upon which the whole caste system of India was built up. According to him, the caste system sprang up from the regular evolution of social life starting at its lowest level and flowing in its slow progression. It is from Brahmans, thanks to the contagion of example and the necessity for self-defence, that the exclusivism of castes emanated. In his opinion, the four-fold division of caste was never actually in force in India except as a current tradition, the only reality which attaches to it to-day. The rank of any caste depended on whether the industry represented by the caste belongs to an advanced or backward stage of culture. Thus the natural evolution of industry affords the chief clue to the gradations as well as the formation of caste.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Anantha Krishna Iyer, L. K.—*The Mysore Tribes and Castes*—Vol. I, p. 184.

<sup>2</sup> Senart—*Caste in India*.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 156.

Nesfield's view is supported by Dahlman, who likewise sees in a village community practising a particular trade or craft the origin of caste through the formation of a guild which in course of time has become exclusive both in the matter of commensality and that of marriage.<sup>1</sup> Nesfield studied caste from the external and present aspect. Experience shows how caste prejudices hold apart people who should be united by the same occupation carried on in the same place.

*Ibbetson.*

Ibbetson seeks the explanation of the caste system in a tribal origin. He laid the greatest emphasis in this on the tribe. It is quite clear that tribes are as much responsible for the origin of certain castes as it is that castes are or have been in the past restricted to particular functions. Ibbetson's summary of caste is really only a summary of certain observable features, that is, tribes, guilds, and religious monopolies have contributed to the growth of the caste system having done much to consolidate and perpetuate it, but they can in no sense be regarded as causes.<sup>2</sup>

*Risley.*

It is in race and the enmities born of race that Risley seeks the soul of caste. The nasal index is the most unerring criterion of race. Senart thinks that it is scarcely a paradox to lay down as the law of caste organization that a man's social organization varies in the inverse ratio to the width of the nose. The endogamous laws are the foundations of this system and this rampart was raised to protect

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1 Hutton—The Census of India, 1931, Part I, p. 484.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 485.

the purity of blood on which they prided themselves. Caste is to Risley a matter of marriage. He arrives indirectly at a fairly general acceptance of the orthodox Brahmanic system. He supposes that the predominance gradually acquired by the priesthood was the principal source of the whole evolution.

*Senart.*

The Aryans on their entry into India lived under the influence of the old laws common to all the branches of the race. They were divided into tribes, clans, and families, and the groups were all governed by corporate organizations whose general traits were identical and whose tie was an increasingly close consanguinity. The age of equality, pure and simple, between clan and clan, and tribe and tribe generally vanished. Military and religious prestige had begun their sway. Certain groups favoured by birth and good fortune in war joined to form an aristocratic class which laid claim to power. A sacerdotal class was born which based its pretensions on more or less legendary genealogies connecting its branches with the illustrious sacrificers of the past. From beginning, religious life dominated the whole life. Senart cannot persuade himself that caste has sprung from the aboriginal tribe. This system was wholeheartedly embraced by the Brahmans, who raised it to the dignity of a dogma.

Everything goes to show that intercourse and intermarriage with the aborigines encouraged all the practices and prejudices which paved the way for caste. Admixture occurred between the races and the Aryan ideas of purity gained more and more ground amongst this hybrid population and purely aboriginal peoples. While the ancient principles of family life were perpetuated, the grouping

factors were diversified by function, religion, vicinity etc. side by side with the principle of consanguinity. Under the double influence of their own religion and the ideas that they borrowed from Aryan civilization, the aboriginal tribes accelerated the influx of new sections. Caste came into existence from this time onwards. Amidst all this confusion, the sacerdotal class alone retained a strong corporate spirit and possessed a power which was both moral and highly efficacious. It generalised and codified existing conditions into an ideal system. This was the legal caste system.

### *Hutton.*

Dr. Hutton's approach to the problem is based on his long acquaintance with those cultures that survive in India least altered from antiquity. According to him, caste, as it now is, is an institution that has grown and developed through many centuries, but since it is so firmly rooted in India, and since it is found nowhere else, it would appear almost certain on the face of it that its first beginnings are to be sought in India and not outside, and we have in the more inaccessible corners of this vast country still a few tribes, whose primitive conditions of life have changed so little in a 1,000 years as to be witnesses of value. He refers to some of the Nagas, who are still left unclothed, still untouched by contact with the people of the plains, and whose language is still unspoken by any one outside their community save some of their own immediate neighbours. Thus, in the unadministered area to the east of the Naga hills, some villages make pots but do not weave cloth, others weave, and others again are principally with blacksmith's work, the one village bartering its products to its neigh-

hours, when not prevented by mutual hostilities in spite of differences of language, customs, and sometimes perhaps of race. Here we have purely the occupational aspect of caste origins of which so much emphasis has been laid by Nesfield and Ibbetson.<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Hutton continues, "The sentiments and beliefs on which caste is based presumably go back to the totemistic Proto-Australoid and to the Austro-Asiatic inhabitants of Pre-Dravidian India and we may conceive of their becoming effective on contact with Dravidian speaking strangers bringing new crafts from the west. Hence would arise local taboos against certain crafts and persons, taboos tending to become tribal and to erect rigid divisions between communities. With culturally superior strangers, hypergamy must almost certainly arise, and if there came a foreign priesthood with the ancient sciences of South-West Asia, the belief in their magical powers would make them the most heavily tabooed of all."<sup>2</sup> All the requisites for the growth of caste seems to have been present long before that date, and the fact that caste is still stronger in Southern India than in the North is of the greatest significance. It must have remained for the Indo-European invader, with that pride of race which has ever and everywhere characterised him, to have the effect of crystallising on the basis of a fixed social scale, the pre-existing taboos ultimately resulting in an attempt to describe in terms of an intrusive Indo-Aryan society a social system really based on the taboos of pre-existing conditions. Hence the formalist fictions of the Code of Manu by which all castes are derived from four Varnas and arranged in a scheme of which the practice of

1 Hutton—The Census of India, 1931, Part I, p. 436.

2 Ibid., p. 437.

hypergamy forms the key-stone.<sup>1</sup> It is therefore argued not that caste in its present form is not a post-Aryan development, but that the essential ingredients which made the growth of caste possible were of pre-Aryan origin and without them the development of caste would not and could not have taken place.<sup>2</sup>

This view of Dr. Hutton is corroborated by Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar, who says, "The caste system with its marital relations of an endogamous and exogamous character and other restrictions was the creation of the tendencies of the Neolithic period. There can be no gainsaying that caste was a pre-Aryan institution, though after the Aryan advent, it was given new forms, new vitality, and new significance."<sup>3</sup>

#### CASTE SYSTEM IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

The Aryans migrated to the south long after they settled in the north. They came in small numbers and peacefully penetrated into the territories occupied by the Dravidians. The two races exchanged their social and religious customs and practices and fused together. According to Dr. Gilbert Slater, the main racial element in the Dravidian population is a branch of the Mediterranean race. The Dravidians settled down in Southern India and developed a civilization of their own long before the Aryans came to India.<sup>4</sup>

In the pre-Aryan Dravidian India, there is sufficient evidence in early Tamil literature to show that the Dravidians who occupied the whole of Southern India in

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1 Hutton—*The Census of India, 1931, Part I*, p. 438.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 439.

3 Rangachari, V.—*Prehistoric India*, pp. 139-140.

4 Slater—*The Dravidian Problem*, p. 361.

ancient times were a homogeneous race speaking a common language. They observed no caste distinction. Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar, who made a careful study of the Tamils (Dravidians), says, "the ancient Tamils noted that the habitable part of the earth's surface were divisible into five natural regions. They were:—(1) Kurinji, the hilly country, (2) Palai, the dry waterless regions, (3) Mullai, the wooded region between the highlands and the lowlands, (4) Marudan, the lower courses of rivers, and (5) Neydal, the littoral tract which skirts the sea. Kurinji, the hilly region, was inhabited by the Kuravas (hunters), Palai, the desert, by the Maravar (fighting-men) and Kalwar (thieves), Mullai, the forest land, by the Idayar and the Kurumbar (cow-herds and shepherds), Marudan, the low-lying regions, by the Ulavar, the Karalar, and the Vellālar (agriculturists), and Neydal, the littoral area, by the Paradavar (fishermen)."<sup>1</sup> Thus, according to the occupations followed by the ancient Dravidians, they were divided into hunters, fighting-men, herdsmen, agriculturists, and fishermen. There was no difference between them except their occupations. They spoke the same language and belonged to the same race. In course of time, the Dravidians came to be divided into three separate kingdoms under the rulership of three separate dynasties, Cholas, Cheras, and Pandyas. The Cholas were an agricultural tribe who lived in the valley of the Cauveri. The Cheras were men of the hilly region extending from the upper reaches of the tributaries of the Cauveri to the west coast of South India. The Pandyas were the coast-people (Paradavar) inhabiting the southernmost region of India whose occupation is fishing. It appears that

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<sup>1</sup> Srinivasa Iyengar, P. T.—*The History of Tamils*, p. 8.



intermarriage was quite common between these tribes in ancient times.

### CASTE SYSTEM IN KERALA.

It is said that there was no caste system in South India before the arrival of the Aryans. The earliest Aryan settlers tried however to introduce their four-fold division of people, and, before they could succeed, they met with much opposition. No Dravidian was found worthy of being called as Brahmana. The Tamil kings were alone elevated to the rank of Kshatriyas in spite of their connection with the Velir or Vellālar tribes.<sup>1</sup> The Brahmans got up for them decent genealogies which traced their ancestry to the sun, the moon, or fire. This rendered the position of the Vellālars who had to oscillate between Vaisya and Sudra castes dubious and unsettled.

Ancient Tamil works speak of Southern India as Tamilakam (Dravidian or Tamil country). The west coast of Kerala was hilly and the people who inhabited it were the Kuravar who lived by hunting. Cut off from the Dravidian stock by a long chain of hills, they in course of time developed a civilization of their own. They had no caste system to begin with. There was a priestly class to minister to their religious needs but it was not elevated to the position of a hereditary caste. The early Aryan immigrants in Kerala belonged to the priestly class and are now represented by the Nambutiris. They identified themselves with the local people and adopted many of their manners and imposed on them some of their own in turn. The two cultures fused together and formed one homogeneous whole.

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<sup>1</sup> Srinivasa Iyengar, M.—Tamil Studies, pp. 61-62.

Socially a distinction was maintained between the two sections of the population, and the Nambutiris, being the priestly order, wielded great influence over the masses. The kings were absorbed in the Kshatriya class. The people were divided in groups according to the nature of the occupation that they followed, and each group was given a caste name. Thus the bulk of the population who originally formed one community was split up into a number of castes. It is significant that there is no Vaisya caste in Kerala.<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Maclean points out that the caste system was as much the work of the Dravidians in South India as that of the Aryans. In any case, he points out that, when once the institution was introduced, it was taken up with as much zest as by the Aryans themselves. In fact, the caste instinct seems to have been more developed under non-Aryan communities of the population than under the Brahmanical, who are generally and correctly associated with Aryan culture.

The literature on caste system in Kerala consists of productions of recent times bearing the stamp of antiquity. Tradition ascribes the creation of caste to Parasurama, the reputed leader of the first Brahman colony.<sup>2</sup> The scheme attributed to him consists of 64 divisions framed out of two main castes of Brahmans and Sudra. Keralolpathi refers to the existence of Brahman, Kshatriya, and Sudras. The large majority were stamped as Sudras. The term includes under it all castes of the non-Aryan groups. As in other parts of India, the social development described in the scheme appears to be a gradual process of evolution.

1 Kunjan Pillai, N.—The Travancore Census Report for 1931, p. 868.

2 Rangachari, V.—Prehistoric India, pp. 134-140.

and growth under given conditions. The real position seems to be that the division of the people into four castes has never existed in Kerala. There are Brahmans, Kshatriyas, and a number of other castes of whom some could certainly be included in Kshatriyas and Vaisyas, and some others under Sudras. The principle of treating each group following a particular occupation as a separate caste and of prohibiting intermarriage and interdining between different castes was introduced in Kerala by the Aryan immigrants. The Jāthi Nirnayam makes mention of 72 principal castes:

They are :—

1. 8 Classes of Brahmans.
2. 2 Nana Jāthis.
3. 12 Antharala Jathis.
4. 18 Sudras.
5. 6 Artisans.
6. 10 Pathitha Jāthis.
7. 8 Nicha Jāthis.
8. 8 Extra Jāthis.

To maintain the purity of their community and to secure their comfort and convenience, the Brahman legislators appear to have so enacted the matrimonial laws that they possessed the privilege of marrying not only among themselves, but also among castes below them down to the Nayars. Dr. Hutton has drawn attention to the fact that “the women taken from a matrilineal society and having ties of language, kinship, acquaintance, and custom with that society, but expected to live according to strange and probably repugnant domestic and marital rules could only be effectively restrained to that end by cutting off her

freedom of movement in and association with the society to which she belonged. It may appear at first sight that the case of a Nambudri Brahman married to a Nayar wife is a contrary instance, since she does not observe purdah at all, but the fact that, in this case, the children follow the matrilineal system supports the argument that purdah was necessary to the combination of a patrilineal system with the practice of taking wives from a matrilineal society. That purdah should exist so strongly in the case of the Nambudri wives of the elder sons must be explained by the necessity for maintaining a barrier against the encroachment of a matrilineal environment and by the probability that the Nambudri already practised purdah when they first arrived in Malabar.”<sup>1</sup>

The Nambutiris extended the privilege to the Kshatriyas who subsequently came among them, while the Sudras were allowed to marry among themselves. With the advent of the Perumals, the Kshatriyas appeared in Kerala, and the Brahmans began to enter into conjugal relations with Sudra (Nayar) women. The union of Kshatriyas with Nayar women gave rise to the caste of Samanthan, who by caste are Nayars differentiated by social position and observance of hypergamy with the Nambutiris. The addition of these two groups completes the scheme of Malayali castes of the present day. The castes of Kerala thus form a racial, marital, and functional basis.

The present population of Travancore contains the following distinct racial types. The existence of a Negrito strain in the aboriginal population of South India has received additional evidence in Travancore. It has been

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1 Hutton, J. H.—The Castes of India, 1931, Part I, pp. 488-489.

observed among the Urālis, the Kānikkār and others. They were followed by the Proto-Australoid (pre-Dravidian). This type is found among Muthuvans, the Malavetans, and others. The Pulayas, the Parayas, and other depressed classes who are now grouped under the designation of Adi-Dravida, are predominantly pre-Dravidian, but contain some Dravidian blood also. The Nāyar, the Vellāla, and other clean castes represent the term Dravidian (Melanid) type no doubt with a large degree of Aryan blood. The Nambutiri Brahman is the best representative of the Aryan type.

Travancore is thus one of the most caste-ridden parts of India. The magnitude of the restrictions imposed by the operation of caste may be observed from the following disabilities which can be roughly divided under the following heads. The disability under which they are debarred from the public utilities, such as, the use of tanks and roads comes under the first category. The religious disabilities which debar them from the use of temples, burning ghats, etc., fall under the second category. As regards the civil rather than religious disabilities, "the extent to which the use of public roads is debarred may be gathered from the fact, that the untouchables of Travancore made an organized effort in 1924 to obtain the use of roads which skirted the temples at Vaikom. These roads were public roads maintained by the State for the use of every body, but on account of their proximity to the temple building, the untouchables were not allowed to use certain sections which skirted the temple so closely. Ultimately, as a result of the satyagraha, the temple compound was enlarged and the ban on the roads was removed, the roads having been realigned so that their

users were no longer within the polluting distance of the temple.”<sup>1</sup> Dr. Hutton continues, “Theoretically, perhaps the admission to Hindu temples would be enough, once it is conceded, to remove all the other disabilities, for the temple is not merely a religious institution, but is also in many ways a social one.” The Nambutiris are the most influential caste in Kerala and they are the highest authorities in all religious matters. Very few of them have taken to higher English education. It is therefore a matter for no wonder that Kerala and its people have persisted in the preservation and protection of the ancient customs.

But changes have now set in. The social reform movement is a common feature of all the castes and communities in the land. Most of them have now organized associations on caste or communal basis for the betterment of their social, religious, economic, and political conditions. The Nayars were the first to enter the field to organize a caste association for these purposes. The Nambutiris, the Kshatriyas, the Izhavas, and the Pulayas have followed in their wake and have their own associations.

#### FUSION OF SUB-CASTES.

The fusion of sub-castes is the end and aim of all caste associations. It is advocated on social and political grounds with a view to cast away all petty differences between sub-divisions and form one common caste socially. Fusion will also engender the numerical strength of the caste and enhance its importance in the body politic. The Nayars were foremost in the field of social

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Hutton, J. H.—The Census of India, 1931, Part I, pp. 482-483.

reforms. In 1931, only two have been returned. It follows that the disappearance of sub-divisions betokens changes in social customs. The Nayars and the Izhavas have removed all restrictions on intermarriage and inter-dining between the sub-castes which they rigidly observed some time back. The Nambutiri Yogashema Sabha advocates the adoption of this reform. Travancore may rightly claim the position of being in the vanguard of social reform in India.

#### FUSION OF CASTES FOLLOWING SAME OCCUPATION.

An attempt towards the fusion of allied castes following same occupation has been observed among the Hindu castes of the fishing community. They are the Arayans, the Mukkuvans, the Nulayans, and the Vālans. Their traditional occupation is fishing and they have been recognised as distinct castes having no intermarriage. The educated men of the castes started an agitation to unite them for political purposes into the Araya caste before the census of 1931. They have been partially successful in their attempt. This does not mean the social fusion of these castes. A similar move for the amalgamation of some of the washerman caste, such as, the Vannan, the Mannan, the Neriyan, the Paravan under a common caste called Varnavar was also made before the census of 1931, but it was not successful.

#### SUBSTITUTION OF NEW CASTE NAMES.

The census of 1931 discloses a general desire to cast away old names among the lower castes and assume new ones to improve their position and status in society.<sup>1</sup> The artizan classes comprising goldsmiths, blacksmiths, carpen-

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1 Kunjan Pillai, N.—The Travancore Census Report, 1931.

ters, and others who were included under the common name of Kammāla desired to change it into Viswakarma or Viswabrahman. They wear the sacred thread and try to emulate the Brahman. In the case of the Chānnāns, the desire to remove the blot attached to the old name made them change their name into Nadar. Similarly, the Paraya has assumed the name of Sāmbavar, and the Pulayan, of the Chēramar. Again, the desire to be dissociated from the lower caste which has adopted the name of the higher caste leads to change of name. In South Travancore, there are two castes, the Kāvāti and Chakkaravar. The former are barbers, while the latter, traders. In 1921, a number of Kāvāthis returned themselves as Chakkaravar, which the Chakkaravar caste resented. In 1931, the genuine Chakkaravar adopted the name of Keralamudali. Lastly, there are occasions when an old name which a caste had lost is restored. The Velakkithala Nayar is a barber caste resembling the Nayars in all social and religious customs. It was once part of the Nayar community, but became separated into an endogamous group on account of its occupation. The advent of the barber caste from the Tamil country created a new situation. The two communities came to be called Ampattan, because of the same occupation. The Malayali barbers now want the original name of Velakkithala Nayar.<sup>1</sup>

According to Dr. Kunjan Pillai, the people of Travancore are not prepared to countenance the total abolition of the caste system and accept an alternative classification on an occupational basis. Though some castes differ ethnically and socially, they follow the same

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1 Kunjan Pillai, N.—The Travancore Census Report, 1931.



traditional occupation. For example, among the barbers and washermen, there are Tamilians and Malayalis. Their language, system of inheritance, and mode of living are so different that the two sections cannot unite into a common caste. They even resent the idea of such a grouping. Some castes are educationally backward, and they desire to be identified separately. Such is the feeling among the backward and depressed classes who want separate representation.

#### INFLUENCE OF WESTERN EDUCATION ON CASTE.

The caste system could have been immune to the polemics and bitterness of the present day, if it had remained a mere social arrangement imposing restrictions on intermarriage and interdining, but it went further. It imposed such social disabilities as untouchability, unapproachability, and prohibition of entry into temples. These disabilities existed not only in the treatment of the depressed classes, but also even among the high caste Hindus. Among the latter, there is a certain degree of untouchability and unapproachability between caste and caste. As a result of the spread of modern education and western civilization, the rules have undergone moderation in their rigour but, in rural parts, castes are still observed, and untouchability and unapproachability still persist. The castes which have been suppressed have now begun to assert their rights socially.

The sovereigns of Travancore have been very solicitous to improve the condition of the backward classes among their subjects. Several proclamations were issued to elevate them socially and materially. In 990 M.E. (1815 A.D.) such obnoxious taxes as 'Talayara' and

'Valayara' were abolished. The sale or purchase of the Kuravas, the Pulayas, the Paravas, and other lower castes was finally abolished by the proclamations of 1853 and 1855. Public roads were thrown open to all people without distinction of caste, and public places have also been thrown open. A marked improvement has been noticeable in their life and condition. Untouchability disappeared from the urban areas, and is gradually disappearing in rural areas. The prevalence of touch and distance pollution between higher and lower castes, which have been a standing canker eating into the vitals of the Hindu fold, is thus gradually disappearing.

The denial to the polluting castes of the right of temple entry has been the cause of great misunderstanding and irritation. They were advised by Mr. Gandhi "not to attempt to gain entry by his own method of satyagraha, as God lived in their own breasts."<sup>1</sup> The right of temple entry is regarded as the key position with regard to the removal of untouchability. Dr. Hutton states that "the social bar tends to foster conversion to Christianity and Islam, though even Christians in Travancore distinguish between the castes of their converts in their seating accommodation in churches."<sup>2</sup> The agitation consequent on the denial of right of temple entry to the depressed classes has been gathering much momentum of recent years. The matter has been therefore engaging the serious consideration of Government.

In this connection, it may be pertinent to consider what sublime thoughts existed behind the back of the

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1 Hutton, J. H.—*The Census of India, 1931, Part I*, p. 484.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 485.

historic Temple Entry Proclamation. The scholar statesman, Sir C. P. Ramswamy Iyer, states that it became necessary for him to deal with one aspect of the subject in its practical application, when he was endeavouring as Head of the Administration, to discover the sources and methods of legislation in the old days. He continues, "I then saw that the monarch who in the code of Manu, is described as embodying in himself the four ages was understood by the medieval philosopher Sukra, to be maker of the age, so that if customs, usages, and movements are not assimilated to the needs of the times, the fault is said to be in the king himself. Sukra avers "The king is the maker of the age as the promulgator of duties and sins. He is the cause of the setting on foot of the customs and usages, and hence is the cause or maker of the times." The same principle was enunciated by Bhisma in the Sāntiparva. "Whether it is the king that makes the age or the age that makes the king is a question about which we need not entertain any doubt. The truth is that the king makes the age."<sup>1</sup>

It has been pointed out that the evolution of the Kerala Acharas is a conclusive proof of the ancient law-givers and pristine laws. Acharas did change from time to time, and Manu, Yagnavalkya, and other law-makers emphatically recognised such changes. It is such powerful sublime thoughts that swayed over the mind of His Highness Sir Sri Bala Rama Varma, Maharaja of Travancore, to promulgate the celebrated Temple Entry Proclamation on the 12th November 1936. It commanded that, "subject to the rules and conditions that may be imposed,

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1 Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer—Indian Political Theories—Evolution through the Ages. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri—Foundation Lectures, 8-2-1937.

no restriction shall be placed on any Hindu entering and worshipping at the temples controlled by us and our Government." The rules have been since published on the 24th November 1936 and have received the universal approval of all subjects of His Highness the Maharaja. The Proclamation has been applauded as a document of the first rate importance, and forms a distinct landmark in the annals of Travancore. His Highness the Maharaja has not only earned the undying gratitude of all his subjects, but all the Hindus in the "Indian Empire. Hinduism now takes its place as a world religion through this historic proclamation. This great event has been rendered possible by the advice given by Her Highness the Maharani Sethu Parvathi Bai.

#### CONCLUSION.

It is a regrettable feature of the times that castes are unwilling to coalesce with other castes for fear of being wiped out of existence. Each caste wants to continue as a separate unit of the body politic, so that its interests may not suffer for want of advocacy. Though this is a natural instinct for self-preservation, it keeps asunder the different castes of the Hindu community. The caste system would therefore continue to persist in spite of the removal of all social inequalities.

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## SOCIAL BEARINGS OF THE HINDU SYSTEM OF MARRIAGE.

BY DR. P. H. VALAVALKAR, PH.D., LL.B.

The term 'marriage' is generally used to denote a social institution, complete by itself.<sup>1</sup> But we must remember that it is a part of and should be included in the institution of the family.<sup>2</sup> It is true that usually writers on social institution consider the problem of marriage before that of family; but this is intended as a preparation for and therefore a supplement of the study of the more inclusive institution of the family. These considerations generally apply also to the discussion of the Hindu *vivāha* (marriage); for *vivāha* is in essence a formality, of course very important, through which the bride and the bridegroom have to pass in order to be able to start life in the *grihasthāśrama*, i.e. the family life. And, it would be impossible to study the problem of *vivāha* without at the same time discussing a few important and fundamental questions related to the institution of the family.

Amongst the Hindus, according to the injunctions laid down by the *Śāstras*, marriage (*vivāha*) is generally considered as obligatory for every person, male and female. "To be mothers were women created, and to be fathers men; therefore the Vedas ordain that *dharma* must be practised by a man together with his wife."<sup>3</sup> And, marriage (*vivāha*) is viewed as one of the *śarīrasamskāras*—one of the sacraments through which every man and woman must pass at the proper age and time for the sanctification

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1 See, e.g. Westermarck: "History of Human Marriage", vol. I, p. 26.

2 Cf. Sumner: "Folkways", pp. 848-9. 3 Manu. ix. 96.

of the body.<sup>1</sup> Manu conceives it as a social institution for the regulation of proper relations between the sexes.<sup>2</sup> Again, it is believed that one's progeny is considerably connected with and is instrumental to securing bliss both in this world and 'In the hereafter; the birth of a son is conceived to be specially contributory towards helping the father to execute his obligations to the departed ancestors—one of the three *ṛiṇas* (debts) which every individual is bound to execute. In view of this, the Hindu annually worships his ancestors, and takes vows to fulfil his duties towards them by offering oblations in their names; and the family line needs to be continued, in order that this annual worship should be continued. Besides, "a wife (*bhāryā*) is the very source (*mūlam*) of the *purushārthas*, not only of *dharma*, *artha*, and *kāma*, but even of *mokṣā*. Those that have wives can fulfil their due obligations (*kriyāvantah*) in this world; they can then lead a real family life (*grihamedhinah*), achieve happiness and prosperity and plenty (*śriyāvantah*)."<sup>3</sup>

Special care, however, has to be taken to perform the *vivāha* of maidens who have attained the marriageable age. A girl who continues to stay on in her father's home more than three years after attaining puberty, is called a *vrishalā* or a *śūdrā*; and the father or the guardian who is not careful enough to give such a girl in marriage within the proper time is said to be incurring a great sin.<sup>4</sup> If her elders do not arrange for her marriage within the proper time, it is permissible for such a young lady to take upon herself the whole responsibility of choosing her life-mate and enter into wedlock with him;

1 Manu ii. 26.    2 Manu ix. 25.    3 Mahā. Ādi 74 40-41.

4 Manu ix. 98; Yāj. I. 64; Vis. xxiv. 41; Parā vii. 6. Brihas. xxiv. 8, speaks of punishing such relations.

she has to wait for three years only, and no more, after puberty.<sup>1</sup> Vātsyāyana, too, advises a young maiden who has attained mature youth (*prāpta-yauvanā*) to decide issues in this very manner. \*

The first qualification needed in a young man for marriage is the fulfilment of his duties and obligations of the student's life, without violating any of the regulations of studentship (*avipluta-brahmacharya*).<sup>2</sup> In the opinion of Vātsyāyana, only such a student has the right to marry.<sup>3</sup> So also, the bride to be selected must not have been already given to any one before ; and she must be a virgin.<sup>4</sup> The demand for virginity in the bride has been characterised by Sumner as an appeal to "masculine vanity," and as a "singular extension of the monopoly principle."<sup>5</sup> In the case of the Hindu, however, the demand was equally emphatic on the part of the male too, in the form of the *brahmacharya* vow, as we have just seen.

There are certain rules of endogamy and exogamy that control the choice of mates, with reference to the *varṇa*, *gotra*, *pravara* and *sapinda*; we do not propose to go into all these here, in view of the complicated and lengthy issues and discussions into which these would involve us. There are still other regulations regarding qualifications for fitness to marry. Manu has given a list of certain types of families, girls from which should not be accepted for wedlock. These types of families are: (i) one which neglects the study of the Vedas ; (ii) one which neglects their *dharma*s, i.e. their obligations and duties as prescribed by the *Śāstras* ; (iii) one in which no male child is born ;

1 Ibid. and also Mahā. Anu. 44. 16-17.

2 Manu. iii. 2 ; Yājñ. I. 52;

Āśv. G. I. 8. 5. 2 ; Kām. I. 4. 1.

3 Kām. III. 1. 2.

4 Ibid. III. 1. 1.

Yāj. I. 52 ; Gaut. iv. 1. etc.

5 Sumner : "Folkways," pp. 358-59.

(iv) one, the members of which (a) have thick hair on their body, or (b) are subject to diseases like hemorrhoids, phthisis, weakness of digestion, epilepsy, or white or black leprosy.<sup>1</sup> The third and ~~the~~ fourth types of families have to be avoided, evidently, due to considerations of heredity.

These qualities apply on the bridegroom's side also, by analogy (*atideśa*).<sup>2</sup> Besides, according to some, his powers of virility (*pumstva*) have to be carefully (*yatnāt*) ascertained.<sup>3</sup> Vātsyāyana, however, shows a greater insight into the problem when he points out that matrimonial alliances should generally take place between equals;<sup>4</sup> and, he also tells us that "where the love between the husband and the wife adds lustre to both, and, where it is a source of joy to both the families—that is the only marriage which is worthy."<sup>5</sup> Yet, Vātsyāyana realizes that ordinarily it would be a difficult task for every person to make a scrutiny of the numerous details mentioned above for selecting the bride or the groom; therefore he wisely adds: "He will be a happy husband who marries the woman on whom his heart and eyes are set."<sup>6</sup>

Regarding the age of marriage of the young maiden, there is a variety of opinion among the Hindu writers; and it is extremely difficult to say anything specific and uniform about their general opinion. Manu has said that a man of thirty should marry a girl of eight.<sup>7</sup> Manu's commentators, Medhātithi and Kullūka inform us that this rule was not followed to the letter. In the *Gṛīhyasūtras*, the

1 Manu, iii. 6-7; cf. also Yāj: I. 54; Vis. xxiv. 11.

2 Yāj: I. 54.

3 Yāj: I. 35; cf. also Nār. xii. 9; Kām. III. 1. 1, seq. 4 Kām. III. 1. 22-24.

5 Ibid, III. 1. 25. [Tr. adapted from Peterson's in J. B. R. A. S. XVIII (1690-94), P. 117]. 6 Ibid. III. 1. 14. Peterson observes that Vāt. is quoting from Āp. G.S.I.

8. 20. 7 Man. ix, 24; cf. Mahā Anu, 44-14.



marriageable maiden is referred to as a *nagnikā*;<sup>1</sup> and Dr. Ghosh has drawn our attention to Matridatta's commentary on the word as referring to a mature girl.<sup>2</sup> The *Grihya-sūtra* rules, moreover, regarding the observance of *brahmacharya* for three days after the *vivāha* and of cohabitation on the fourth definitely assume a mature age of marriage, both for the bridegroom as well as the bride. Again, in the *Mahābhārata* as well as in the *Smritis*, there are indications to show that, in fact, the age-limit was not low at all. The various duties prescribed for the house-wife in the *Smritis* as well as in the *Śukraniti*, for instance, are such as could not be performed by a very young girl. The *Mahābhārata* on the other hand gives actual instances where the bride is a young lady of full maturity, age and understanding; for instance, we have the marriages of Dushyanta-Śakuntalā, Sāvitrī-Satyavāna, Subhadrā-Arjuna, Rukmiṇī-Krishṇa, Nala-Damayantī. Many more instances can be given from the *Epics*. In the *svayamvara* of the *Epics*, the bride herself selects her husband out of several suitors. And our dramas and our poetry too abound in several instances of mature love-romances as depicted by Bāṇa, and Kālidāsa, and many others.

We shall now concern ourselves with the most important part of a marriage, *viz.* the wedlock ceremony (*vidhī*). Of the various rites performed at the *vivāha*, the *kanyā-dāna*, the *vivāha-homa*, the *pāṇigrahaṇa*, the *agni-parinayana*, the *āsmārohaṇa*, the *lājā-homa*, and the *saptapadī*, each succeeding the other, are important and full of social significance. We propose to give the salient features of each of these below.

1 Gobh. G. S. III. 4-6; Mān. G. S. I. 7; Hir. G. S. I. 19. 2; etc.

2 'Nagnikām malthunārham'.

At the first of these, *viz.*, the *Kanyā-dāna*, the father or the guardian of the bride gives up (*dāna*) the maiden to the groom by pouring out a libation of water.<sup>1</sup> The groom accepts the gift, reciting the *Kāma-sūkta* (Hymn to Love) thus:

Who offered this maiden ?  
 To whom is she offered ?  
 • Kāma gave her to me,  
 That I may love her.  
 Yea, Love is the giver,  
 And, Love the acceptor,  
 Love that pervades the waters.  
 With love, then,  
 I receive,  
 Nay, even accept her.  
 May she remain thine,  
 Thine own, O Kāma.<sup>2</sup>

Thereafter, the father of the bride exhorts the groom not to fail her in his pursuit of *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma*; and, the groom replies, three times, that he shall not do so. Next comes the *vivāha-homa*, in which the groom offers oblations, the bride participating with him by holding his hand that offers.<sup>3</sup> This is followed by the *pāṇi-graḥaṇa* : here the groom seizes the hand of the bride and repeats this *mantra* :

I take thy hand in mine  
 Yearning for happiness ;  
 I ask thee

1 Āśva. Gr. Sū. I. 6. 1. etc. (The various rites are described in the Grihya-Sūtras, all of which agree on essentials, and the differences between them are very slight and on minor points.)

2 This *Mantra* is in Taitt. Br. II. 11. 5. 5-6.

3 Āśv. Gr. Sū. I. 7. 8 ; et. seq.

To live with me  
 As thy husband,  
 Till both of us,  
 With age, grow old.  
 Know this,  
 As I declare,  
 That the Gods  
 Bhaga, Aryama,  
 Savitā and Purandhi,  
 Have bestowed thy person  
 Upon me,  
 That I may fulfil  
 My *dharma*s of the householder  
 With thee.<sup>1</sup>

Then follows the right of *agni-parinayana* : here the bridegroom leads the bride three times round the nuptial fire reciting the *mantra* in which he prays for happy married life and good progeny.<sup>2</sup> At the end of each of these rounds, there is another supplementary rite by the bride called *aśmārohana* ; here with the helping hand of the groom, the bride treads on the stone, as he asks her to be firm like a stone, and overcome the foes (of *samsāra*, and its difficulties?).<sup>3</sup> Then comes the *lājā-homa* in which the bride's brother or a person acting in her brother's place, pours fried grain in her hands for offering to the gods.

Thereafter comes the last and the most important rite, *viz.* the *saptapadī* : here the bridegroom leads the bride for seven steps in the north-western direction, reciting the

1 Āśv. Gr. Sū. I, 7, 8 ; etc. The *mantra* is in Riq. X, 85, 86.

2 Āśv. Gr. Sū. I, 7, 6 ; Śān. Gr. Sū. I, 18, 4 ff. ; etc.

3 Āśv. Gr. Sū. I, 7, 7 ; etc.

relevant part of the following *mantra* as they walk each of the steps :

Let us pray together,  
 For life-sap as we tread one step along,  
 For life-power as we gather two steps together,  
 For wealth more abundant, as we go on three  
 steps with one another,  
 For happiness in life, as we walk four steps  
 together,  
 For offsprings, as we move along five steps  
 together,  
 For a long wedded-life as we pledge six steps  
 together,  
 Be thou now my life-mate (*sakhā*) as we walk up  
 seven steps together.  
 Thus, do thou go together with me for ever and  
 for ever.  
 Let us acquire many many sons, and long may  
 they live, we pray.<sup>1</sup>

After the *vivāha*-rites are duly carried out at the bride's parents' home, the couple start out on their way to the groom's home ; here are the father's parting words to the bride :

Now from the noose of Varuṇa I free thee, wherewith  
 most blessed Savitar hath bound thee.

In Law's seat, to the world of virtuous action, I give  
 thee up uninjured with thy consort.

Hence, (that is, from the father's house), and not  
 thence, (i.e. from the husband's noose), I set thee  
 free. I make thee softly fettered there,

That, O bounteous Indra, she may live blest in her fortune and her sons.<sup>1</sup>

While leaving her parental home the bridegroom helps the bride to mount the vehicle as he repeats the following *mantra*:

Let Pūshan take thy hand and hence conduct thee;  
may the two Āświns on their car transport thee.

Go to the house to be the household's mistress (*grihapatnī*), and speak as lady to thy gathered people.<sup>2</sup>

The couple enter the groom's home with the rites of *grihapraveśa*, the groom conducting the bride into the home.<sup>3</sup> The groom's father or another person in his place now addresses to the bride as follows:

Happy be thou and prosper with thy children here; be vigilant to rule thy household in this home.

Closely unite thy body with this man, thy lord. So shall ye, full of years, address your company.

Be ye not parted; dwell ye here; reach the full time of human life,

With sons and grand-sons, sport and play, rejoicing in your own house.<sup>4</sup>

Thereafter, the wedded couple offer oblations to the nuptial fire which is carried over to the home along with the bridal pair; and the groom recites<sup>5</sup> the following *mantra* before it:

So may Prajāpati bring children forth to us; may Aryaman adorn us till old age come nigh.

1 Fr. Riq. I. 8. 24-25.

2 Āśv. Gr. Sū. I. 8. 1; etc. The *mantra* is in Riq. I. 85. 26.

3 Āśv. Gr. Sū. I. 8. 8; etc.

4 The *mantra* is in Riq. X. 85. 24 & 42.

5 Āśv. Gr. Sū. I. 8. 9; etc.

Not inauspicious, enter thy husband's house; bring blessings to our bipeds and our quadrupeds.

Not evil-eyed, no slayer of thy husband, bring weal to cattle, radiant gentle-hearted.

Loving the Gods, delightful, bearing heroes,<sup>1</sup> bring blessings to our bipeds and our quadrupeds.

Oh bounteous Indra, make this bride blest in her sons and fortunate,

Vouchsafe to her ten sons, and make her husband the eleventh man.

Over thy husband's father and thy husband's mother bear full sway.<sup>2</sup>

Over the sister of thy lord, over his brothers, rule supreme.<sup>3</sup>

So may the Universal Gods, so may the Waters, join our hands,

May Mātariśvan, Dhātār, and Deshtrī together bind us close.<sup>4</sup>

Then follows the rite of looking at the polar star Arundhati at sunset by the bride; here the groom shows her the star, so well-known for its fixed (*dhruva*) position in the sky, while reciting: "Firm be thou, thriving with me."<sup>5</sup>

After the ceremony of *grihapraveśa* is over, the couple are asked to give up all pungent or saline food, to wear ornaments, to sleep only on the floor, and to observe *brahmacharya* till three nights are over (*trivātram*).<sup>6</sup> On the fourth day, the foetus-laying rites are performed, preparatory to the mating of the pair. Here, the husband

1 'vīrasūh'. 2 'samrādñi bhava'. 3 Ibid. 4 Rig. X. 85. 43-47.

5 Śān. Gr. Sū. I. 17. 3; Hir. G. S. I. 92. 6; Pār. G. S. I. 8. 19; etc.

6 Āśv. Gr. Sū. I. 8. 10; etc. also cf. Kāma. III. ii. 1.

offers nine expiatory oblations to Agni; thereafter he mates the wife with the *mantra*: "United is our soul (*manas*), united our hearts (*hridayāni*), united our naval, united our body and skin (*tanutvachah*). I bind thee with the bond of love (*kāmasya yoktrena*); that bond shall be indissoluble" (*avimochanāya*).<sup>1</sup> He then embraces her with the *mantra*: "Be devoted to me, be my companion."<sup>2</sup> He then seeks her mouth with his mouth while he recites:

Honey! Lo! Honey! My tongue's speech is honey;  
 In my mouth dwells the honey of the bee;  
 On my teeth dwells concord.  
 The magic charm of that concord  
 That belongs to the *chārvāka* birds,  
 That is brought out of the rivers,  
 Of which the divine Gandharva is possessed,—  
 Thereby are we concordant.

He also recites this *mantra*:

I do with thee the work  
 That is sacred to Prajāpati;  
 May an embryo enter thy womb,  
 May a child be born,  
 Without any deficiency,  
 With all limbs, not blind, not lame,  
 Not sucked out by the *Pīśāchas*.<sup>3</sup>

This concludes the ritual part of the after-*vivāha* ceremonies.

The above account of the Hindu view of marriage is sufficient to give us fair indications of the ideas, ideals and purposes underlying the Hindu marriage. In the first place, one of the purposes underlying the *vivāha* seems to be in the endeavour to secure the best progeny for the family,

1 Ben. G. S. I. 5. 81; Hlr. G. S. I. 24. 4. etc.

2 H. G. S. I. 7. 25. 5.

3 Hlr. G. S. I. 7. 25.

for the fulfilment of which man must take the best bride available, and the maiden is wedded to the best groom available. Secondly, the problem of marriage of a boy or a girl has to be decided not somehow, or anyhow, by the parents, but with a view to serve the needs of regulated social behaviour, organization and control ; all these are broadly defined by the *Grihya-sūtras* and the *Dharma-śāstras* ; in fact, the problem is sought to be solved on the basis of deliberation, choice and selection with reference to some guiding rules and principles.

Also, the various Vedic *mantras* recited by the bride, the groom and other parties concerned at the *vivāha*, repeat and reiterate the fundamental ideas and ideals, to fulfil which the couple pledge themselves together ; further, they reveal the vital social implications underlying Hindu view of human life and destiny. Apart from the necessity of begetting a son in order to continue the family-line and tradition (*kulaparamparā*), it is ordained by the *Dharma-śāstras* that the wife is a necessary complement of man for the proper and full execution of all his *dharma*s as a *grihasta*. The couple are asked to start their after-marriage career as joint-keepers of the home in which capacity they are exhorted to strive their best to fulfil their marriage-vow of not failing each other in the pursuit of *dharma*, *artha*, and *kāma*. In the home, both the husband and the wife are conceived as possessing rights, obligations and status consistent with the nature and capacities of each of the two sexes ; and these rights, obligations and status, though not identical, are nonetheless viewed as equal in importance for the proper nurture of the family and its traditions. Thus, the wife is as much a mistress of the home (*griha-patni*), as the husband is the master of the home (*griha-pati*).



Besides, the wife is the supreme ruler (*samrājñi*) of the household. Each of them is repeatedly reminded to regard the other as his and her indispensable complement for the fulfilment of the various social and domestic obligations enjoined on those in charge of the household (*grihapatyāya*). The newly-married couple is also exhorted to live in perfect harmony and concord with each other, always happy with each other (*modamānau*), ever avoiding quarrels amongst themselves (*mā viyaushitam*); and the couple pray together that the Higher Powers bless them with complete union of hearts (*samāpo hridayāni nau*) as well as of bodies. The two are asked not only to fulfil the obligations of reproduction and nurture of children, but to live to be father and mother of heroes (*vīrasū*), and carry out the various social obligations connected with the *dharma*s of *grihasthāśrama*. In social terminology, the *vivāha* may be said to be a recognition and acceptance by the bride and the groom of the *āchāras* and *dharma*s that prevail in the community to which they belong.

In addition to this, if we consider after-marriage relations between a man and his wife as sanctified by the *samskāras* that follow the *vivāha*, we can fathom the depth of the seriousness and scrutiny which amounts to sacredness, that is attached to married life. In these ceremonials, celibacy (*brahmacharya*) has to be observed for some time after the marriage; and, the mating-rites presuppose and ordain that the couple is wedded essentially for the sake of, and, therefore, in order to live a life of higher purposes, thus demonstrating that the mating of the husband and the wife is, for the Hindu, devoid of selfish profligacy or lusty debauchery. Further, there are other rules laid down in

the *Dharma-sāstras* regarding the control of sex-life between the husband and the wife, wherein sexual relations are considered *Dharmawards* only under certain conditions of the body and the mind and the whole being of each of the parties concerned ; all other sex-relations are classified as unlawful or not becoming human being (*vyabhichāra*). If we put and coordinate all these factors together, we can understand how the best interests of the propagation of the species, of the upkeep of the line of the *pitris* whose descendants' sacred place of dwelling and doing has the home to be and to become, are expected to be subserved by the institution of the *vivāha* on the basis of a life of self-control by the man and his wife who become the managers of the home for the while. In fact, the responsibilities, duties and obligations of the *grihastha* and the *grihinī* which the groom and bride are going to become, are summed up during the marriage ceremony and held up before the vision of the new couple, for the fulfilment of which they pledge themselves jointly at the wedding.

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## WAR AND PEACE—A HUMAN VALUATION.

By DR. N. A. THOOTH, D. PHIL. (OXON.)

The world of to-day is committing itself to situations and conditions in human affairs of a most vital import; their reactions can be seen in a series of infinite injuries to the resolves, pledges and assurances of the leaders of the peoples of the world made only twenty years ago; and, if things go on in the way they do now, if the peoples of the world refuse to learn lessons from the horrors of the Great War, mankind as a whole must expect disaster for itself, and even destruction. Most of us apprehend the coming of another war, while we have not yet been able to recover from the terrific shocks of the last war, and to regain what we lost of wealth and health and morals therein.

At such a juncture it becomes the duty of a student of human conditions to express his views about the crisis and how, in his opinion, this crisis could be resolved. His point of view cannot be that of the politician or of the economist; it must be a comprehensive, all-sided, unbiassed, non-partisan, humanist outlook of the social anthropologist who, after a careful analysis of the relevant data regarding every field of human activity, coordinates and comprehends human situations in connection with and as an outcome of the past, and searches for the entire psychological basis underlying it. He sees that the world of to-day is suffering from a state of war of various kinds, economic and political in particular; he realises that some peoples and nations in particular are heading warwards, and are preparing for a war which is bound to drag in the rest of the world

willy-nilly. After the last war came to an end, and before we have forgotten the deep injuries left by it, those who were partisans in that war and those who were not, those who were war-minded then and those who were not, all these are preparing for a war again. The masses are being trained into the belief and every single national unit thinks that war is a necessity as a solvent of human ills and difficulties; at least, all think in chorus that, if not war, at least preparedness for war is of necessity such a solvent of modern international and national evils.

Such a belief is further strengthened by the fact that inspite of the League of Nations, more than one powerful nation, on one pretext or another, has sought to settle issues with weaker nations tyrannously by force of arms. And, most recently, America and Britain have had to abandon the policy of minimum armament inspite of all the goodwill that they command in favour of peace; all this is happening inspite of the fact that the wisest among mankind to-day have all the time been yearning and working for peace. They clearly see that at the root of all this turmoil and race for armament lie fear and mutual distrust among the peoples of this world. Leaders of some powerful nations of the world are talking in terms of war in the interest of their nation's 'right to a place under the sun'; at the same time, they are themselves actually trampling upon the rights of others.

Now, what is the cause behind all this turmoil and state of wardom in the civilised world, as also the constant apprehension of an approaching war? Our analysis of the present situation is along the following lines: The confusion in human affairs during our own times is a heritage from a remote past through several stages of man's efforts to

think out and organise human existence. This organisation has been and is being done mainly for the sake of and in terms of establishing rights—rights of the individual, of institutions, of the state, of the church, and so on—without carefully looking into the corresponding duties, and therefore without giving a due place to duties in the scheme of human life. Consequently, there have come into being constant conflicts and strifes between different sets of 'rights'. The earliest in importance was the phase when the European man revolted against the then all-powerful theocracy maintained by the Church, and sought to establish his freedom of worship, thought and action. Before the Reformation, the Church claimed and, in fact, exercised the right and authority over the entire life of the individual and the group, not merely in regard to the general design, but also in matters of detail. Thus the Christian theocracy had over-organised itself; and, in view of this, it needed to be reformed. But over-organisation and the power underlying it had created a feeling of security in the minds of the managers of the Church; so, forgetting her deep spiritual obligations, the Church had tended to exercise more and more of temporal power, even at the cost of her spiritual foundations which thus became considerably damaged and undermined. She became so conscious of the power she could wield over her flocks, that she shut her eyes and ears to the longings and desires and feelings of man and the injustices he was subject to. Unable to bear the burden on its soul, after long and patient suffering, humanity burst into a revolt of infinite dimensions. And, it succeeded after a bitter struggle. But that did not establish the desired reign of freedom as conceived by the participators in the revolt. Instead, it released

the pent-up energies of man in terms of beliefs, thoughts, and patterns of living which were not tolerated even by the leaders of the Reformist Church. So, strifes came into being amongst the Reformists themselves. All this defeated the very ideas and ideals underlying the Reformation; it resulted in the formation of antagonistic sects in the sphere of religious beliefs and doctrines; besides, most of the sects under the new Church strove against the Renaissance, particularly in the intellectual and social spheres; and, every new sect that came to be established proved to be as intolerant towards dissenters as those which preceded it.

Failure to achieve freedom through religion shifted the arena of man's struggle for freedom into the political field. Man sought to solve the problem of his freedom by establishing his 'right to vote,' his 'right to send representatives' and his 'right to freedom of speech'; such and other slogans then filled the air in man's search for freedom. But these slogans and the hopes raised on them not only failed to secure the condition of things that was so much sought after, but actually brought great turmoil among the masses; and, they created an illusory sense of power, and permitted the unscrupulous to exploit 'patriotism.'

The next stage comes with its cry for economic freedom through the State. It alleged that religion tends to put unnecessary restraint on man's freedom of behaviour; and old world ethics too has been made out as a sly and wily sister of religion that enforces unreasonable restrictions in the affairs of man and on the freedom of his actions. Thus the belief has become current that human freedom is not achievable through traditional religion and morality. On

the other hand it is suggested that the real causes of human bondage and suffering are economic maldistribution and consequent social maladjustments. Therefore human freedom has come to be interpreted, thought out, and solved in terms of economic organisation and economic change; thus, man has been ceaselessly seeking in the latest stage to re-organise and re-distribute wealth and other economic resources on a new basis and a new conception of human life.

Corresponding with the religious, political and economic phases in the life of each of the nations, there came into being inter-state and inter-national phases. These are mainly of two types : (i) either of the nature of unions in terms of understandings, treaties and ententes, or (ii) of the nature of strifes in terms of wars between the nations. Both of these were based on religious, economic or political grounds.

Alongside great upheavals in terms economic and industrial, there has come the rise and development of scientific studies. Herein each aspect of life and the world is increasingly considered, formulated and conceived singly, by itself, without reference to other aspects or to the whole. In view of this, scientific activity is fast becoming purely formalistic, and the world of science is divided up into warring specialisms. Now, this is true not only of the Natural Sciences, but also of the Social Sciences. It is true that each social aspect and institution must have its own domain and distinctive office with reference to which it must be studied. But it is more true that while each institution like say, marriage sets up its pattern of behaviour it must also fix zones of tolerance for activities and institutions complementary to itself.

Besides, a number of institutions like the state, the law and morality must work together to impress character upon and give direction to the mass of human endeavour. Thus modern life is based not on a culture which is a synthesis of various institutions and ideals; its structure is raised rather on an aggregate of seemingly incompatible and unco-ordinated institutions; in some cases it rests even on a few institutions without reference to the institutions that concern themselves with life as a whole. Thus our intellectual endeavour is not viewed with reference to and alongside life as a whole.

Moreover, animosities arise also from thinking in terms of opposition between countries and regions. People living in one area think exclusively of their own interests believing that these are against those of their next-door neighbours. Geographical units, regional and political, are thus sought to be kept in isolation, as if each unit is secure, self-sufficient and adequate enough to nurse the manifold needs of man. In this manner, a sort of political and regional specialism has been bringing forth a narrow, intolerant, 'national' outlook, even as instanced by the specialised study of the Sciences and the Arts. It is only recently that the peoples of France and Britain, after spending their precious time and energy in futile wars for centuries, have been learning to look upon each other with neighbourly feelings and work together for common interests and goal, without suspicion and reserve. The same narrow attitude is illustrated in the conduct of most modern states. Such exclusive thinking has necessitated the formation and operation of exclusive, secret organisations; these latter, in their turn, have been increasingly engendering clash of inter-state interests in terms of 'alliances' and 'under-



standings'. All this has been nourishing a war-mentality with its attendant ills in the world.

The above review of the facts and ideas at the background of the mentality of modern man shows how life is conceived essentially on a misunderstanding of human values. Evidently from the medieval ages onwards man has been groping in search of freedom in terms of 'rights'; for, it is rights which he has been identifying with freedom. This error has been handed down the centuries and has coloured his thought, action and organisation, in the philosophic, scientific, religious, political, economic and social fields. Let us analyse this error for a while in order to see it in its full implication. Freedom of man, of the individual, and of the group can be conceived as an end worthy in itself; and the exercise of one's own rights may certainly be understood as the necessary means of attaining that end. But this defines only the lesser half of the means that can help the individual or the group to fulfil the real end which must be consistent with a scheme of mutual relationships in the field of human affairs where each individual can play his part to the fullest and in the best manner, and thus fulfil the law of his being. To the extent to which rights and their operations are conceived in terms of and in accordance with such a scheme, to that extent the full and proper fulfilment of the end can be understood and achieved. All this means that the existence of life cannot be rightly conceived except in terms of responsibilities. This central pith of the contents of rights has all along been more or less missed by the peoples of Europe who are in search of freedom, and who want to establish a life of freedom in terms mainly or merely economic, or political or social.

Even as rights are divorced from responsibilities, the peoples of Europe have been confounding means with ends. This confusion has ushered in not only an era of militarism, but is also making the possibility of a reign of peace very remote indeed. The sciences and the arts, and the discoveries and the inventions in the various fields of human endeavour, instead of uniting man in a common endeavour of intellectual fellowship, have become fruitful sources of ever-new antagonisms. If the natural sciences have been utilised to provide man with instruments of destruction, with equal inhumanity are the biological sciences being exploited to kindle racial prejudices. Moreover, each branch of science and each aspect of life are studied in isolation. It is true that specialisation by itself has great value; indeed, it helps immensely in an intensive study of any problem. But such great gain in depth and in intensity is more than counter-balanced by loss in true amplitude, perspective and proportion; the general background is missed; the subject is pursued within its narrow and limited confines only; and we get results without reference to a general and comprehensive attitude towards life, in the light of which only can they be rightly interpreted. Thus scientific study, isolated and specialised, has naturally engendered in the scientist a propensity to exaggerate the importance of his favourite pursuits; specialism has thus bred singularity of judgment; and this in its turn has given rise to intolerance. In this way the economist and the political scientist would have nothing to do with psychology, ethics, civics and religion.

By capturing the citadels of scientific studies, such specialisation has overwhelmed the life of the individual; his economic existence has no relation with his ethical life;

his social life is bereft of artistic import; his political activities have no kinship with his deeper extra-biological needs of life. Similarly, institutions have become specialised in such a way that each of these has no affinity with the other ; each claims to exist in and for its own sphere only, believing that thus alone can efficiency be achieved ; any claim to relation, help or sustenance by other institutions is construed as interference ; in view of all this, each assumes itself as perfect in itself and adopts an attitude of antagonism against the rest. This is what is illustrated in the life of the modern states which are heading for war. They have lost sight of the common purpose that must bind workers and thinkers in the separate sciences and organisations. The peoples of Europe have been specialising both in science as well as institutions. Instead of befriending religion, science has rejected it ; at the same time it has allowed itself to become subservient to politics and economics, and has thus helped to enhance the horrors of war. So also has economics been driving ethics into the outer darkness ; material pursuits would have nothing to do with the higher things of life ; machine mocks at man.

Thus, in the West the individual has been losing the unique role and value of his personality ; his spiritual gravity is dissipated ; he is taught to believe that his best will find safety if he surrenders the dynamic life-processes within him at the altar of a monstrous and routine organism called the State ; caught up in such a machinism of conventional and organisational life and functions, he exists no longer for human well-being, but for the machine in which he is used as a part. In this way, man has allowed himself to be so manipulated by States and Empires which have risen on the ruins of the real man, that they are now

challenging each other in their military madness. The states in the West are growing on the graves of men. They "look before and after," but find no comforting ideal.

All this shows how man's misapprehension of the nature of freedom is responsible for the absence of real peace amongst the peoples of the world. Solutions of the problems of life are sought to be made in terms of politics and economics; the service of modern science is sought to achieve this; and thus life is dominantly lived in terms of the world and worldliness. The group activities of such economic politics raise opposition between the accepted age-long ethico-social determinants of life and the economic issues, with the result that only the economically suitable is considered and accepted as practical and worthy. The entire life of the modern man, his ideas, ideals and aspirations are not only regulated but dominated by a Money-and-Price Economy. So also, group-life is fast becoming an economico-political machine without any reference to a higher purpose. Traditional institutions are displaced; and, there is no other controlling and directing institution or power in their place. All this has made the world of to-day more full of conflict than it was ever before; there is conflict of ideas and ideals, conflict between group and group, conflict between group-combinations, conflict in terms of the material needs of life, conflict in regard to the ways and means for the proper conduct of life. All this means war, if we do not bethink ourselves and act.

Of course those who only live to eat and drink and who only care for 'success' as it is understood to-day, do not, will not see that there is anything wrong with the world; in fact, there are many in our midst who desire that the world should drift warwards—for the sake of another

"profiteering" boom. But the vast majority of the populations of the world—those who will be coaxed or driven to be cannon-fodder—realise the horror and futility of war and all its ways, and welcome every move to avert it. Hence the many genuine attempts to take stock of the present trends, to examine, to analyse what we have come to assume to be 'progress' and 'progressive'. There is a feeling gaining ground that sweeping away old institutions root and branch, the total denial of their worth in the 'modern' world, has done us more harm than good, that we have needlessly overthrown much that was built on sound experience and commonsense, and have not been able to replace what has thus been destroyed. It is felt that a new co-ordination among the several aspects of life-activity, social institutions and intellectual life must be made on a psycho-moral basis.

It is necessary here to observe that there need be no conflict or irreconcilability between the ideal and the practical. In seeking to be 'practical', the West has been losing the value and service of the ideal. Fundamentally, however, no practical endeavour is healthy unless it is built on ideals; indeed, the value of an ideal lies in its workability. Theory need not and should not be opposed to practice. It is the ideal that guides the practical, and informs and controls it at every stage of its working; and, ultimately, it is the ideal, which endows all actions with value. Similarly, there need be no opposition between the subjective and the objective. Our objective achievements are but the flowerings of our subjective selves. It is a ruinous purblindness that will not recognise harmony between the objective and the subjective. So also it is disastrous mischief to posit antagonism

between the outer and the inner. Our institutions are but the outer realisations of our inner aspirations ; they are a call to further progress on the path of the individual. Thus it is right endeavour to perpetually pattern our institutions on the model of our ideals. On the other hand, to seek to work an institution without reference to any informing ideal, and to call on the individual to conform to its rituals, is to worship a false god and to invite the inevitable disaster. Man is an end in himself. His personality has to be unfolded through the medium of institutions. But mere reliance on the institutions and the group to which he belongs is bound to prove precarious for his well-being ; for, the real man is liable to be missed in the mass ; and, he will easily degenerate into a passive, synnomic unit as sheep in a flock. Unless the personality of man is invested with its full dignity, and unless specialisms yield place to a more synthesising humanism, the future does not promise light. Unless means are correlated with ends, unless practice is in concord with ideals, there is no rescue from the lowering catastrophe.

One of the remedies for the intolerance and the narrowness of mind which we find around us to-day lies in a study of the sciences in terms of a proper perspective of human existence. If sciences could be correlated, and their study pursued with reference to the relation of the various branches, the results might be different. In such a study where the whole panorama is kept in view, the outlook is broadened, so that the results of each branch of science can be understood in a proper perspective and interpreted with reference to a comprehensive attitude. Just as the sciences must be correlated, so must the different aspects

of life be integrated, so that in the management of human affairs on this plane, means and ends will be properly used in the service of man's deepest concerns. Political organisations, economic organisations, and social organisations are all means towards the attainment of man's highest well-being; knowledge is a means towards understanding and living life; and so also social institutions like the family, the state and the nation, are but means to settle and stabilize right relationships between individuals and groups. Some of these are means for the purpose of understanding the meaning and general design of existence as a whole, some help in organising life, some in producing wealth, some are aids to our physical welfare, and some are devised for psychological development. But all these means should be equally instruments in the hands of man for the proper unfolding of his personality; they exist for man, man does not exist for them. These means are to be valued and judged in proportion as they help towards the realisation of the End. The ultimate criterion of value for all these lies in a fulfilment and achievement of well-being. The true function of science, for example, is to serve man for the mastery of life. The primary duty of man is to search out and understand the end of human existence and live in accordance with it. The ultimate End lies in the highest self-expression and self-expansion of the human spirit. The extent to which each of the means enables us to do so, is the extent of its worth.

In order to secure a proper balance between means and ends religion and ethics should be restored to their rightful place. Again, the various sciences and arts that man is fostering and developing, are among themselves, interrelated, and not opposed. They all concern living

beings, living organisms; they help or hinder man in achieving or thwarting his efforts towards reaching the End. This means that, ultimately a classification of the sciences and arts in terms of their co-ordination—of ethics and economics, of biology and psychology, of science and art, of politics and civics, and of all these into a synthesis, into a science and art of human well-being—is needed. This presupposes that the study of ends should proceed alongside the study of means. Once the End is understood, the right and appropriate means can be devised. Of course, ends and means are necessarily inter-dependent; hence, the employment of the right means is so essential for the fulfilment and realisation of the ultimate end or goal.

Social institutions under such aegis will not be mutually exclusive; economic organisation will not be divorced from the ethical; national needs and outlook will be sought to be satisfied in terms of and with due consideration for an international outlook. We must realise that in essentials all the nations of the world can and should agree, though in unessentials we may disagree; what we can hope to agree upon is on essentials; we must think together and find out how far we can really go together; and, if we mean to do this, we can go together much further than we can at present imagine. Thus the solutions of different problems of life need not be uniform in matters of detail with reference to the peoples of the different regions of the world. In fact, these cannot and should not be uniform; they must of necessity be of diverse and variegated patterns with reference to the triple bases of cultural growth, namely, regions, history and psychology. Lust of power over peoples and states and civilisations has sought to impart uniformity of behaviour



and culture, as if there is only one pattern of human living worthy of adoption by the rest of the world. Such behaviour and outlook of the old civilisations, except perhaps the Hindu and Chinese, has brought about war and conflict, misunderstandings, rule of force, reign of competition, unnatural human behaviour, destruction of races of man, animals and plants.

After all, the existence of different behaviour-patterns in the world of man does not preclude the reconstruction of our institutions on broad-based, universal principles of life. Different forms of behaviour have emanated only from the deep needs of life ; so, mere difference need not imply hostility between them. We must admit that the same strain can vibrate differently in different keys. What is needed is the formulation of an architectonic conception of life and a way of living in relation to the End. Let us remind ourselves that our political institutions are a tiny part, but not the whole of life ; and our economic and other social institutions can serve a few and partial needs of our being. This proves that each single aspect of life can solve the problem of life only piece-meal ; any single institution by itself is absolutely inadequate to comprehend and encompass the dynamic needs of human life as a whole. Evidently, the spiritual necessities of man cannot be confined within the borders of our artificial conventions and laws ; they spout forth from infinite and eternal sources, they reach our universe from end to end, fill every institution around, and encircle the entire limits of the little world of man. Therefore, it is human personality, understood as the centre of all social institutions, that demands deeper attention in regard to man's varied needs. The higher necessities of man are the same all the globe.

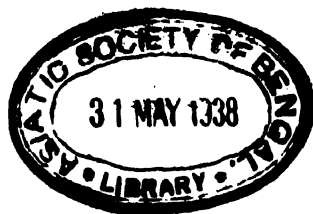
over ; in the higher things of life all are invited to an endless hospitality. Difference need not be there ; for, the needs of all emanate from the same source. Antagonism should not be there ; for, the endeavours of all are born of the same need.

In this way of living, the political activities and economic interests of one group will clash little with those of another ; for, political life will not then be pursued for its own sake, or for the puny profit it brings, or even for any glory it may bestow. It is useful only, and its value lies only to the extent that it yields service to satisfy the vital needs of man. So, it should not conflict with any other aspect and pursuit of life, since all aspects and pursuits are acknowledged as vitally inter-related ; therefore, each must be so chastened that it shall yield its best without impinging on the sphere of another. The pattern of living and the understanding of the meaning of life we have outlined above, shall embrace all the needs of all the peoples of the world, springing from a knowledge of all the complex emotions, deep desires and intense aspirations that lie hidden within the depths of human personality.

Mutual respect for each other's cultures, tolerance of each other's ways of thinking and living, and absence of fear between peoples of the world inspite of the existence of different behaviour-patterns amongst them should be the foundation stones of this new structure of human life ; this will secure a state of affairs where life is really found to be a field of expression for self-discipline and self-growth, wherein obedience to the law may be said to be a duty and an obligation in the interest of best living. What we really desire and crave for is to formulate a general scheme of life such that any and every act of life and

thought can and does come under, and gather justification from the very category of life itself. It is not the form we insist upon, but the spirit that permeates it, not the details of any system, but its soul, the principles that work it. Every system or policy that seeks to serve human affairs, will succeed only to the extent to which it seeks to provide and prepare, from age to age, the proper field and material for a fuller and fuller expression and expansion of life of the individual and the group, in accordance with the deeplying necessities of human nature. And, we must admit that no single, exclusive process or system can sufficiently unfold the possibilities—personal and social, economic and ethical, psychological and aesthetic, material and spiritual—of all the peoples of the world even at any given period of time; much less can it unfold these for all time. This makes it abundantly clear and necessary that in our efforts to solve the problems of the world at this juncture, we may have, from time to time, to borrow and adopt institutions and systems from every school of thought in all the quarters of the globe; indeed, it is our obligation and duty that we must, in this way, rear the choicest flowers of human experience. No good shall be rejected in the leavening up of such an all-inclusive process that is ever-ready to seek to learn and go onwards, re-arranging, re-moulding, re-creating in order to be sufficient unto man. Proceeding from the depths of life itself, such a process must spread itself to the circumference of all creation, living and non-living. Similarly, no region or locality can be sufficient unto itself; one supplements and complements the other. The interests of men of understanding and wisdom transcend local barriers and encircle the entire limits of the earth, even as the sun. The wise man is more

and more consciously becoming a member of a world-polity ; his heart-beats testify to the bonds of common sympathy amongst mankind ; seeking to be at peace with his fellow-beings, he finds himself in tune with all creation, living and non-living. Such a plan of life, such a universal, all-inclusive way of living and thinking, will achieve balance, harmony and perfection not only between human beings and groups in particular, but also between area and area, region and region, and between all things—living and non-living—in general.





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